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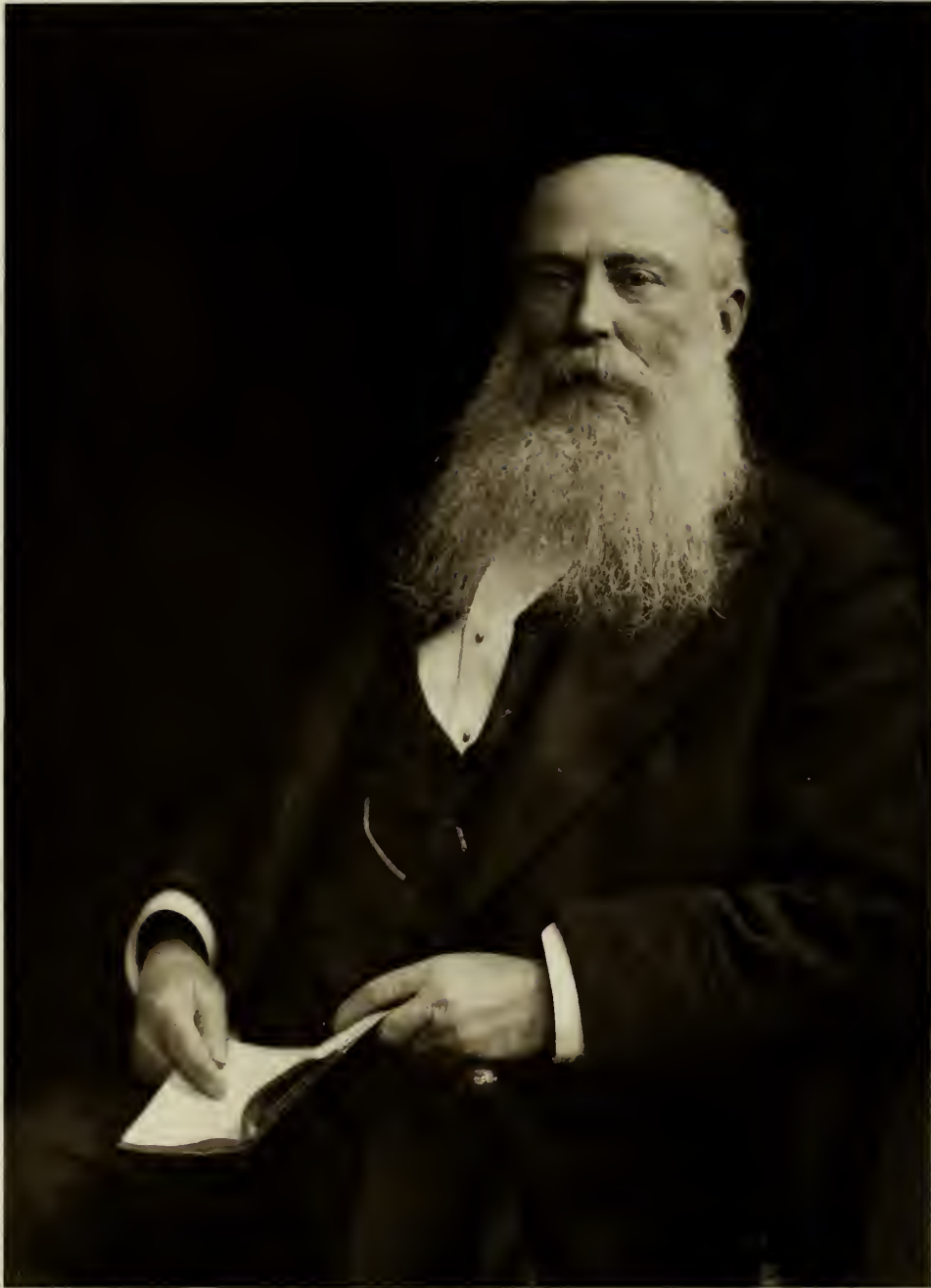
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THE ANNALS OF HAMPSTEAD

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Mama J. Howell



W. & D. Downey, photo

W. & D. Downey, photo

Yours faithfully
Thomas H. Hall

THE ANNALS OF HAMPSTEAD

BY
THOMAS J. BARRATT

IN THREE VOLUMES
WITH OVER FIVE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS



VOL. I

LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1912

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I Dedicate this Work

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD EVERSLEY, P.C.

(FOUNDER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMONS PRESERVATION SOCIETY)

AS AN EXPRESSION OF MY PROFOUND APPRECIATION

OF HIS LIFELONG, UNCEASING AND SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENTS

IN THE NATIONAL CRUSADE

FOR SECURING OPEN SPACES FOR THE PEOPLE

AND

AS A SPECIAL TRIBUTE

TO HIS DISTINGUISHED SERVICES

IN THE VARIOUS HISTORIC STRUGGLES

FOR THE SAVING, PROTECTION, AND EXTENSION

OF

HAMPSTEAD HEATH

PREFACE

For the best part of my life I have been a resident in Hampstead, on the high vantage ground of the Heath. Familiar with the place from boyhood, it is endeared to me by many personal memories. I seem to have known it always. About its fair and spacious Heath, and over all parts of its lovely surroundings, I used to ramble and play in my youth. There was hardly a tree I did not know; many of them it was my delight, with other boys, to climb, to see whose name should be carved nearest to the topmost bough. I remember the Gospel Oak fields—unsurpassable, it seemed to me, in vernal beauty and floral radiance—before the railway was cut through them. There I gathered flower and plant specimens for my botanical lessons, and skimmed the ponds for objects for the microscope. And from that time to the present I have been more or less closely connected with this time-honoured and beautiful suburb.

And my affection for Hampstead has grown with the years. As time has crept on, I have come to be deeply interested in the history and associations of the place generally; and a great part of such leisure as I have been able to snatch from an active business life has been devoted to studying the picturesque story of Hampstead's past, and to collecting such mementoes of it as have come within my knowledge and reach. In this way I have become possessed of a great amount of valuable material in the shape of pictures, prints, documents, books, and relics of many kinds; and the desire to utilise these treasures in a manner that might be publicly acceptable—especially to such as have links of connection with the place—has been the motive in the production of these volumes. First and foremost, therefore, this work may be regarded as the direct outcome and reflex of my Bell-Moor Hampstead Collection.

At one time my aim did not extend beyond the idea of publishing something in the nature of an Art and Literary Supplement to what had already been written about Hampstead; but a more deliberate consideration of the subject decided me to embark upon this larger project, as being much

the more useful and desirable. Thus, without aspiring to any special literary qualifications, I have ventured to tell the full story of Hampstead in so far as it can be gathered from public and accessible private documents, and it has been my good fortune to have had recourse in many directions to sources of information that were not available to previous writers on Hampstead.

The foundation of the history of Hampstead was well and truly laid by John James Park, in his exceedingly careful work published in 1814. Many sources of knowledge that were closed to him have since been opened or discovered, and fresh lights on the past have disclosed many things that enrich the more ancient story. In the later period, from 1814 until 1912—nearly a century—there has been such a crowding of events, such an expansion of life, incident, and interest within the boundaries, that it may be said a new Hampstead has arisen, with new associations, new activities, and a new outlook. Much about these later days has been well and entertainingly set forth in Baines's *Records* and in Miss White's *Sweet Hampstead*; but a good story is worth retelling, amplifying, and adequately illustrating. I think it will be found that the following pages contain much that is new, and, at the same time, that little of importance of the more ancient record has been omitted.

I have sought to treat local affairs from other than a merely local point of view. Between a history like the present and one of national scope there is an essential difference. Subjects that are of leading importance in one case are outside the purview in the other. Still, general history of a serviceable kind has been, and may still be, built up from local annals. The significance of familiar incidents, episodes, and persons of our own day and locality is not always realised. Usually it is only when these recede and take their places in a long retrospect that we perceive their import. Much historical material that would have become of national interest had it been utilised has been lost by indifference to local happenings of the moment.

I have thought it well for association's sake to add a quite brief historical sketch of Highgate to the Hampstead narrative. It is only a chapter, however, and does not claim to be supported by any new research, yet it seemed to me to be necessary to the rounding off of the story I had to tell.

As regards the pictorial features of the work generally, I have been able to get together much authoritative illustration that will help to recall the ancient aspect of Hampstead; and at the same time I have been fortunate enough to secure able artistic aid in giving a faithful presentment of the various Hampstead scenes of to-day. It has been a labour of love to me to

suggest and see to the carrying out of these matters in an appropriate form, and the full art result will, I trust, be correspondingly gratifying to my readers.

Generally speaking, I mention as I go along the sources from which the main facts of this chronicle have been gathered, but beyond this personal and extensive research it is my gratifying duty here to acknowledge with all thankfulness the courtesy and assistance rendered to me by many friends who have evinced a more than kindly interest in my project, and who, by placing at my service prints, pictures, documents, and helpful matter of various kinds, have enabled me to cover my subject more thoroughly than would otherwise have been possible.

I have to express my thanks to Sir Edward F. Coates, Bart., M.P., for the privilege of reproducing several valuable illustrations of old Hampstead from his unique Collection, with which is incorporated the Gardner Collection; to Sir Joseph Beecham for permitting me to photograph three of Constable's paintings; to Mr. Hildebrand Harmsworth for affording me a similar favour in regard to Constable's painting of the Vale of Health; to Mrs. Wrentmore for the loan of interesting drawings of bits of bygone Hampstead, including an original pencil sketch of Steele's Cottage by J. J. Park, the historian; to Mr. Henry S. Rooth for allowing a photograph to be taken of the drawing by Mr. J. Fulleylove of the interior of Weatherall House; to Miss Rooth for the like kindness in respect of the Dolphin Fountain; and to the Earl of Kilmorey for some interesting communications. My thanks are also due to Mr. Sydney C. Mayle for placing at my service some Hampstead illustrations from *The Hampstead Annual*; and to Messrs. Cassell and Company, Ltd., for a similar privilege. I have to record, too, my great satisfaction with the admirable series of illustrations contributed to the Bell-Moor Collection, and consequently to these volumes, by Mr. A. R. Quinton, who has shown a fine appreciation of the various subjects he had to illustrate, and has added materially, it will be admitted, to the pictorial effect of the work. The greater portion of the photographs—particularly those of present-day Hampstead scenes—are by Mr. Arthur Praill, whose services in this direction I gladly acknowledge.

On the literary, antiquarian, and more general side of the undertaking, my thanks are no less due and no less freely tendered to those who have helped me. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, who has shown a warm interest in this literary venture of mine from the time of its inception, has placed me under deep obligation by voluntarily writing, as he only can write, an Introduction to the

work. His long residence in Hampstead, his intimate knowledge and intense regard for its associations, and his high literary gifts, render this contribution one of special significance to me personally, and of distinct value to my readers. To Mr. E. E. Newton, whose researches in connection with Hampstead have extended over many years, I am indebted for many matters of special interest and exclusive knowledge, as well as for the loan, for reproduction purposes, of relics and tokens in his possession. Mr. G. W. Potter, with his unrivalled fund of personal memories of early and mid-Victorian Hampstead, has also been a good friend to the work. Sir Spencer Pocklington Maryon Maryon-Wilson, Bart., the Lord of the Manor of Hampstead, kindly allowed me access to the valuable Court records relating to the Manor; Lord Tennyson gave me permission to bring into the story some acceptable information concerning the residence at Hampstead of Mrs. Tennyson (the late Laureate's mother); Mr. H. Buxton Forman placed much valuable material, not previously published, of both literary and pictorial interest, at my service regarding Keats, and in the same association I was under deep obligation to the late Sir Charles W. Dilke, as I am now to Mr. John C. Francis of the *Athenæum*. The late Mr. Brodie Hoare kindly permitted me to photograph some of the portraits of members of the Hoare family; and I am also indebted to Miss Hoare, of North End House, for allowing me access to interesting matters of local and family history. My acknowledgments are likewise due to Mr. George R. Sims, Mr. Max Pemberton, Mr. C. E. Maurice, Mr. W. M. Rossetti, Sir James D. Linton, and Lord Northcliffe for personal recollections and impressions; and to Lord Weardale, Mr. Algernon Graves, Mr. Henry Clarke, Mr. W. Burdett-Coutts, M.P., the Rev. E. F. Evans, and others for assistance in various ways in supplying data or material of one kind or another. The late Sir Samuel Wilks should also be mentioned for a certain scientific interest he took in the work; and the late Sir Henry Harben for many kindly acts in connection with my garnering of local information. Mr. Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A., the Rev. E. Koch, M.A., Mr. James E. Whiting, Mr. C. J. Gahan of the British Museum (Natural History), Professor J. Logan Lobley, Miss N. Peacock, Miss C. Garlick, and Mr. E. L. Hawke, F.R.Met.Soc., have rendered valuable aid, each in his or her own specialistic way; and in seeing the work through the press Mr. James Burnley has rendered me a service which I much appreciate.

T. J. B.

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INTRODUCTION

By SIR W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D.

THE literature of Hampstead—already extensive and valuable—is notably enriched by the publication of Mr. Barratt's monumental work. It will be seen at once that the work is of far more than local interest. The history of Hampstead is connected with the history of the nation at many vital points, and intimately associated with the literary and artistic developments of the past two centuries. In these pages we get for the first time the whole story of Hampstead told in regular sequence and in the accepted historic method. Even Park, who brought high literary and intellectual qualities to bear upon his task, did not attempt a continued narrative. His work was a great achievement in its day and generation. But in the hundred years which have elapsed since its publication much new matter has come to light. A great part of this has been won by Mr. Barratt's own research. He has pursued many lines of independent inquiry with great success, and he has brought the story down in its various modern expansions to the present day.

This book is in the fullest sense a labour of love. For over thirty years Mr. Barratt has been gathering the Bell-Moor collection of pictures, prints, documents, and records of many kinds relating to Hampstead. At first and for many years he went on accumulating his treasures and enlarging his knowledge without any thought of publication. He gave his Hampstead neighbours

full and generous opportunities of enjoying the results of his study and devotion, until it became clear to both him and them that he was in possession of the knowledge and the material needed for a full illustrated history of Hampstead. He saw that he had obtained much historic information which had not been previously made public, so he resolved not only to utilise the historic treasures he already possessed, but to organise a fresh series of researches, feeling that where so much had been gathered in a miscellaneous way he would be sure to reap an additional harvest by still closer investigations. The result has greatly exceeded his anticipations. He has now put his collection to its true use. In this book the public obtain not only the pith and substance of the collection, but a new history of Hampstead that gives us the past record with a fulness, a picturesqueness, and a wealth of lavish illustration which must make the work memorable even in these days of specialised book production. Even those who have studied the history of Hampstead will discover that their knowledge was imperfect. Mr. Barratt has shown his characteristic thoroughness in this work. It is full of fresh facts and of illustrations hitherto practically inaccessible. No part of the subject has been neglected. These sumptuous volumes are a real and valuable contribution to history, and I cannot recollect any book of the kind produced with such lavish expenditure and executed with such conscientious industry.

This work may be considered in five different aspects, in all of which it widens and amplifies the retrospect for us to an important extent: in relation, as hereafter set forth, to (1) the main historic record; (2) its depictions of general social conditions; (3) the eminent personalities associated with the place; (4) its unique outlook on some of the chief figures in modern British literature and art; (5) its intimate and illuminating recital of the history of the Heath—a great battle-ground of popular rights, and the commanding natural feature which has been the paramount influence all through the Hampstead story.

I. THE MAIN HISTORIC RECORD

The first threads of the history of Hampstead are scattered, faint, and uncertain; we have to pick them up partly from conjecture, partly from tradition, as best we can; but even amidst the dim shadowings of the Anglo-Saxon period, Mr. Barratt proves an enlightening and suggestive guide. When, however, he advances upon the surer footing of the earliest documentary evidences and gets in touch with the old local place-names; with charters bearing the signatures of kings, abbots, and other dignitaries; and with such fragments of local history as were penned by the old monkish chroniclers, there is a marked broadening out of the story. From that point onward the action develops, the scene becomes peopled, and on almost every page some new fact is encountered, or some fresh light is thrown upon an ancient episode with which we are already familiar, for everything that is necessary to the comprehension of *all* the story, whether old or new, has to take its proper place in these *Annals*. No fact of importance has been omitted from Mr. Barratt's survey. Of that we may be sure.

In the earlier chapters our author submits the geography of the Edgar and Ethelred charters to an informing series of comparisons with the newer landmarks; and has much to say about the Hampstead cucking-pool that has not been said before; while as regards the charters themselves, he succeeds, to my mind, in clearly establishing their authenticity, showing the manner of their origin, and giving a satisfactory explanation of the confusion of dates which has been a sore perplexity to previous historians. He takes us through Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor times, giving us an impressive reflex of the national history in his local pictures of different periods. For a long time Hampstead was little more than a clearing in the Forest of Middlesex, where wild creatures, animal and human, wolves and robbers, were a constant menace to peaceable people. Abbots, monks, pilgrims, and other wayfarers come

and go, and organised bands of military protectors scour the rugged highroads for their safeguarding, and upon all these matters Mr. Barratt has some new revelation to make. Here, for the first time, we learn of Constantine Fitz-Alulf, a great Hampstead land-owner of King John's time, and his tragic ending; and of the gallows which the Abbot of Westminster kept and used at Hampstead, and the hangings that took place there. We have fresh facts about the Black Death and the Plague, and their effect upon the people of the village, and upon the monks who took refuge there; and many interesting new details are introduced concerning the Wroths, the Waads, Lord Burghley, Sir John Fortescue, and the great Elizabeth herself in the Hampstead association. The story of the Armada beacon-fire at Hampstead is told; of Sir Martin Frobisher and the wife he left in "a poor room within another at Hampstead" while he went seafaring; of Armigell Waad's transactions with de Lannoy, the alchemist; and of Sir William Waad's mission to Mary Queen of Scots. Many hitherto unsuspected links of association are indeed put before us, Mr. Barratt springing an almost entirely new chapter of history upon us in the account he gives of Belsize during the period of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration. Colonel Thomas Bushell comes new upon the scene, marrying Lady Anne Waad and cutting a somewhat striking figure as a Royalist officer; and we have a great clearing up of old doubts concerning the identity and actions of Colonel Downes and Serjeant Wilde. Downes's name had been mentioned by other writers in connection with his objecting to a Government levy made upon the people of Hampstead in aid of sufferers from a fire at Marlborough, but that was all; it was even questioned whether or not "our Hampstead" was meant. But, thanks to Mr. Barratt's researches, Downes now stands revealed to us as a sometime occupant of Belsize, one of Cromwell's Councillors of State, and later, one of the signatories of the death-warrant of Charles I.—ultimately being tried and sentenced to death as a

regicide. Not less new are the facts given regarding the residence at Belsize of the gallant Daniel O'Neill and his wife, the famous Restoration beauty, the Countess of Chesterfield, both of whom died at Belsize. I cannot myself sufficiently express my admiration of the capable handling which Mr. Barratt has given to the Hampstead story of those stirring days.

So the author takes us from period to period, and reign to reign—the Campdens, Lord Wotton, the Gainsboroughs, the Chesterfields, Sir William Langhorne, and numerous historic personages of Georgian days pass across the Hampstead stage—and so on down to the present time, with ever-growing interest.

II. GENERAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS

In this work we are enabled to trace the growth of those special social conditions which for centuries have been characteristic of Hampstead more than of any other suburb of London. Its altitude and natural beauty and its spacious Heath have combined to bring this about. Inaccessible to the multitude for purposes of habitation, it has attracted them in yearly millions as a health and pleasure resort; and the same advantages which have drawn the people for short recuperative visits have made the place a favourite residential quarter for the well-to-do. Hampstead, moreover, has always been free from industrial encroachments; for, beyond a brief mention of a small eighteenth-century tile-kiln industry, some brick-making operations, and a brewery, these *Annals* have but little to disclose concerning trade matters except such as have been (and are) represented by the numerous goodly mansions which command many of the vantage-points of the Hampstead landscape, and are owned or occupied by financial, industrial, and commercial magnates.

In the earlier time of which we have here such an interesting record, Hampstead's social conditions were typical (in a modified form) of the prevailing feudal system. The abbots, or other over-

lords, ruled ; the peasantry served. There was practically no middle class. First, as a forest hamlet, tenanted by a few farming men and swineherds, Hampstead was just a part of the wild countryside, and no more ; but the shadow of villeinage or other form of serfdom weighed upon it until after the Black Death, the Plague, the Peasants' Revolt, and other disruptive visitations and happenings had created a new social atmosphere. As these pages show, the transition was slow and gradual, and the more violent stages of change were less felt in Hampstead than in the more populous places ; still, there was visible at all times a clear local reflex of national mutations.

At one time, we learn from these *Annals*, Hampstead people were prosecuted for witchcraft and sentenced to death ; at another superstition took the form of alarming people against a flood that the prophets had predicted would destroy London, and thousands sought safety on the Heath and the surrounding hill-sides ; while at the period of Plague, the monks of Westminster took refuge on their Hampstead domain, against the terrors of the devastating epidemic, although many of them were struck down even there. But, with the awakening of things which followed in the train of the Reformation, a general broadening of thought took place. By the extension of education, the influence of a purer religious idea, and the growth of the spirit of popular freedom, old social barriers were fast breaking down, and Hampstead profited by them with the rest of the country.

It has evidently been a sympathetic task for Mr. Barratt to draw the local contrasts between one period and another, and to point the necessary moral. He displays a real pride in each stage of advancement. After the Peasants' Revolt, he shows us, it was "beyond the power of kings, statesmen, lords, abbots, or priors to reforge the links of feudal bondage" ; he notes how the monks of Westminster, as far as regarded Hampstead, adapted themselves to, and made the best terms they could with, these altered conditions by resorting to the leasing plan of letting their Hampstead and other

broad lands. In the narrative of Hampstead's history during the later period of lay manorial lordship many stirring episodes are described. The author's side in every contention, however,—especially where the popular rights in the Heath are concerned—is that of the people. The conditions during the Tudor period, during the fluctuating fortunes of the Stuart days, the trials and perils of the Civil War, and forward through Georgian times, are all picturesquely and accurately described, a vast quantity of new local history being introduced at various points, throwing into bold relief incidents and characters hitherto wrapt in obscurity.

With an excellent aptness of word, phrase, and image, Mr. Barratt succeeds in realising for us, with a fulness never before attempted, that eighteenth-century Hampstead which in many ways equalled, and in some respects surpassed the fame of such fashionable resorts as Bath and Tunbridge Wells. He tells, with a copious array of fact and illustration, the story of the Hampstead Wells, their rise, wane, fall ; their resuscitation, second decay, and final relinquishment ; revealing the forces at work behind the scenes, as well as the great social distinction which first, in the early part of the century and again in its latter half, made Hampstead Wells and Belsize the gathering-grounds of crowds of eminent and fashionable people. We follow him through the seductive halls of the Wells, where the drinking of the waters was made the excuse for the flirtations of beaux and belles, young and old ; where the literary men and wits assembled and gossiped and quarrelled ; Addison, Pope, and Steele being in the ascendancy at the first period, while Fielding, Richardson, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Miss Burney were the chief stars of the later period.

All this time Hampstead was becoming more and more residential. We hear of nobles, judges, statesmen, men of letters, artists, and others taking up their abode in the village ; of manorial lords who, by connection rather than residence, added distinction to the place, and of the ever-growing fascination and lure of the

Heath to which, what a famous author called "the commoner sort" made their way in greater numbers each year. We hear much also of the highwayman and the footpad; of the stir and commotion of the coaching days; of horse-racing, bull-baiting, gambling tables, and what not.

Visitors come and go, the old church throws its protecting wing over the socialities, a local government in the form of a vestry meets in an inn parlour, and so the story widens out to the time when Hampstead becomes a metropolitan parliamentary borough, and we are brought bravely abreast with the social conditions of the present day.

III. EMINENT PEOPLE

What an animated procession of eminent people it is that Mr. Barratt defiles before us and passes in review as they move across the Hampstead scene in this history of nearly a thousand years! It stretches from the days of Edgar to the time of George V.; from the tenth century to the twentieth. It includes kings, queens, nobles, statesmen, prelates, priests, pilgrims, judges, diplomatists, generals, scholars, artists, poets, novelists, actors, actresses, society beauties, adventurers, highwaymen, and prominent folk of all sorts and conditions. What business they had with Hampstead, or Hampstead with them, whether they increased or detracted from its fame, and what their precise points of local contact were, our author sets forth with all due perspicacity, extending the biographical outlook, where the subject seems to demand it, beyond the Hampstead boundaries.

Mr. Barratt may not have much that is new to say about Mangoda or Ranulf Pevrel; or of the single solitary mention in Domesday Book in connection with the Hampstead land-holding at the time of the Norman Conquest; he may not have been able to fish out any fresh figures from a still more remote antiquity; but when once the narrative gets into line with the fuller historic movement of

which there are accessible supporting evidences, the personal prospect receives notable augmentation.

We hear more of the Abbots (lords of Hampstead) than we have done before ; more of their associations with Hampstead, their lawsuits, alienations, ordinances, and general dealings with the village ; the de Barentyns crowd in upon us, the le Rouses, the Fitz-Alulfs, the le Scropes, and the Brabazons ; the last named including the distinguished judge who lived at Belsize and was renowned for his dignity and integrity in a corrupt age. But coming down to the days of the Tudors,—when the laundresses of Hampstead washed the Royal linen, and Henry VIII. sometimes came a-hunting through the Hampstead woods ; when, a little later, Queen Elizabeth's Clerk of the Council (Waad) lived at Belsize, her Chancellor of the Exchequer (Fortescue) at Hendon, and her chief Minister of State (Burghley) at Hatfield,—we get a quicker movement across the Northern Heights, and Mr. Barratt enters and scans the larger outlook with a keenness of scent that results in the introduction to us of many additional personages. Mary Queen of Scots is seen (at a distance) through the Waad association ; so are Sir Walter Raleigh, Lannoy the alchemist, Sir Thomas Overbury, Rochester, the Countess of Essex, Cobham, and others. Later, James I., and his profligate favourite Buckingham, are at the Chicken House at Hampstead ; the rich City Mercer, Sir Baptist Hickes (afterwards the first Lord Campden), becomes lord of the manor of Hampstead ; and presently we plunge into the period of the Civil War, and still more fresh names call for comment.

A second and third Lord Campden come and go ; then we have the Earls of Gainsborough and Sir William Langhorne (the nabob) all in succession lords of Hampstead ; while at Belsize the Chesterfields are established, and Lord Wotton and Pepys and Evelyn pay us visits. On the side of the Parliament we see Sir Harry Vane, Serjeant Wilde, Colonel Downes, Lord Delaware, Milton, and Andrew Marvell ; and Cromwell himself moves across and away from

the local scene ; while of Royalists we have, in addition to the Campdens, Lady Anne Waad, Colonel Bushell, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Martyn Dawson, and many more, each name more or less the centre of a story.

The seventeenth century gives us also a somewhat sinister group for our Hampstead portrait gallery : Claude Duval, Dick Turpin, "Sixteen String Jack," Nevison, Tom King, and other "gentlemen of the road," hover around ; and presently one of them is strung up on a gibbet at North End and remains an object-lesson to evil-doers for many a long day and night after. There is likewise the tragedy of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, with its surroundings of Popish plotters, Protestant informers, and the like, including the king of his kind—Titus Oates.

Then, in the eighteenth century, when "all the world and his wife" visited Hampstead Wells, and the village developed into a fashionable Spa, the crowd of somebodies and nobodies became too great for enumeration. There were the "Consorts" at which Jemmy Bowen played and Mr. Abell sang ; at which Mr. Layfield appeared as Scaramouch and Mr. Robinson gave a ladder dance. There was the ball-room where Miss Burney's heroine, Evelina, ventured and Madame Duval danced. There were the Long Room and the lovely walks, where the habitués sauntered, among them, in addition to the Kit-Cat personages and the literary lights (of which I make more particular mention), Lovelace, and Clarissa Harlowe, Mrs. Lepell, Mrs. Cornish, Mrs. Delany, Mrs. Montagu, Colley Cibber, Captain Pratten, and Mrs. Piozzi.

Among eminent representatives of the law, we have the names of Lord Mansfield, the Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Erskine, Lord Alvanley, Lord Thurlow, Chief Justice Tindal, and Commissioner Evans ; the Church is answered for by several distinguished Vicars ; statesmanship by Spencer Perceval in one century and W. E. Gladstone in another ; while of memorable and worthy private residents, Mr. Barratt has much that is deeply interesting to say.

IV. LITERARY AND ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS

In his informed and intensely appreciative handling of Hampstead's associations with literature and art, Mr. Barratt has had a task after his own heart—a real labour of love. His wide knowledge of books, and his enthusiasm for art—to which the Bell-Moor Collection bears such eloquent testimony—render his observations on this outstanding feature of Hampstead's history of more than ordinary value. When the poets, artists, wits, essayists, novelists, and philosophers are on the scene, he is free of sympathy and understanding, and he fits the various figures into the Hampstead picture with admirable skill. The excellence of this section will be best appreciated by those most familiar with the many books which have already dealt with the subject.

A whole chapter is devoted to Hampstead's Kit-Cat days, when that most famous of clubs held its summer meetings at The Upper Flask, almost next door to Bell-Moor, and Steele, Addison, Congreve, Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, Garth, and Vanbrugh, among the literati, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, the then high-priest of portraiture, together with many nobles of the Kit-Cat coterie, gathered in genial companionship on the pleasant hill-side, toasting reigning beauties, discussing high politics, and indulging in the deep potations and keen "wit combats" which were of the essentials of Kit-Cat carousals. The time, the personages, the locality, are depicted with spirit and sympathy, and there is a delightful description of Dicky Steele's sojourn on Haverstock Hill in the cottage which bore his name down to the time of its demolition in 1867—the house in which Sir Charles Sedley had died some years before.

Chapter XIV. covers a period beginning with the visits of Hogarth and "Sir Joshua" to the Hampstead Wells, and takes us up to the time of Constable's death. It is the period of Hampstead's first consecration to the worship of true landscape art, and introduces us, with close local association, to Romney, Linnell, Blake, Fuseli,

Nollekens, Varley, Beechey, Gainsborough, Morland, Collins, Landseer, and Constable. We see the working of Romney's later ambition in the house he built for himself at Hampstead—an ambition partly subdued by his infatuation for Lady Hamilton, but still more by his failing health; we see Linnell living at Collins's Farm for a few years, visited by Blake, Varley, and Palmer, and, under the inspiration of his lovely surroundings developing from an indifferent painter of portraits to a landscape artist of the first rank; we see William Collins, during a long and happy Hampstead residence, discovering those subjects for his rustic pictures which earned him fame and his R.A.-ship. Blake is there revelling in his mystic visions, living, painting, and poetising in a sort of spiritual trance; Morland, in his gay irresponsibility, is making pictures in the intervals between his drinking bouts; Boydell is planning his famous edition of Shakespeare, his enterprise being ultimately saved from ruin by a lottery for which a special Act of Parliament was passed; and Constable is living his good English life amidst charming English scenery, and exercising his genius unstintingly for the elevation of English landscape painting.

Coming to the nineteenth century, we stand upon still more familiar ground, both literary and artistic—ground of which, in its later stages, Mr. Barratt has intimate knowledge, as an art patron and connoisseur.

A sympathetic chapter on Joanna Baillie and her friends will appeal to everyone of literary taste. We see the dramatist of the *Plays on the Passions* in her home on Windmill Hill, surrounded by a host of distinguished friends. Scott is a frequent visitor; and Wilkie, Wordsworth, Southey, Byron, the Edgeworths, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Siddons, all render homage to her. The literary chapter *par excellence* of these *Annals*, however, is that entitled "Nineteenth-Century Poets," in which Keats is the supreme personality. Hampstead is the true background of Keats's brief, sad, glorious life. Here the figures of Leigh Hunt, Shelley, Charles and Mary Lamb, Haydon,

Coleridge, George Dyer, Thomas Day, and Wells are well delineated ; Mr. Barratt having collected much new and valuable information even in this well-trodden field. Crabbe, Tennyson, Coventry Patmore, and William Allingham also take their places in the story.

Hampstead's later literary and artistic associations are treated with equal thoroughness. Dickens, one of the most ardent of Hampstead lovers, is frequently on the scene ; Thackeray, Harrison Ainsworth, George Eliot, Herbert Spencer, Douglas Jerrold, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Sir Walter Besant among authors, and Clarkson Stanfield, Turner, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Holman Hunt, Du Maurier, and Phil May among artists, all help to fill out the Hampstead picture.

V. HAMPSTEAD HEATH

If an almost lifelong and intimate acquaintance with Hampstead Heath, a residence of over thirty years on its loftiest part, a complete knowledge of its history, and an active personal participation in the later movements for its extension—the Parliament Hill, Golder's Hill, and Wyldes acquisitions in particular—constitute, as they must do, a proper equipment for writing the story of the Heath and the struggles for its preservation, then it must be conceded, I think, that Mr. Barratt possesses that equipment. But if any doubt existed on that point, it is quickly dissipated when we read the history of the Heath as here set down, more especially in Chapter XIX., which tells of the innumerable conflicts between manorial lords and miscellaneous encroachers on the one side and the upholders of popular rights on the other. It is a tale which would have ended long ago but for the vigorous protective action of the men and women who at different times have come forward as champions of the people's privileges, and little by little have won for the public the full Charter of Hampstead Heath, which from this time forth can never again be disturbed or disputed. In dealing with the sober and sometimes sordid matters of fact which belong

to the history of the agitations, lawsuits, appeals to Parliament, struggles and contentions involved in the ransom of the Heath from the clutches of those to whom it made no appeal save a selfish and monetary one, Mr. Barratt gives us a good sample of direct and downright prose, such as best befits the circumstances. In the later phases of the story he has special claims to be heard, because of the prominent action he took with others in securing a large extension of the Heath. It must be gratifying for him that the object striven for was obtained, and that from his house on the hill he can now survey the wide expanse of the Heath and feel that all the fierce struggles for its possession are at an end, and that none can henceforth put an interdict upon, or claim tribute for, any part of this matchless suburban holiday-ground.

In conclusion, I might and ought to show how much this work benefits from its superb illustrations; but I feel that I am not equal to the task. The *Annals* is undoubtedly the best-illustrated work of its class. Celebrated paintings and drawings, from the Bell-Moor Collection and other acknowledged sources, have been reproduced with rare fidelity; while in black and white the wealth of pictorial embellishment is astonishing. Among the five hundred and odd illustrations which have found their way into these volumes, there is not one which has not its own value and significance.

Speaking for myself, I am very grateful to Mr. Barratt for this new History of Hampstead. It is in all respects a notable and splendid book.

THE ANNALS OF HAMPSTEAD

CHAPTER I

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Geological Evidences—Man arrives—Barbaric Days—Watling Street—Boadicea—Barrow—Probable Great Battle—Roman Occupation—Roman Relics—After the Roman Domination—Roman Roads—Hampstead's First Settler—Denizens of the Forest—Pilgrims—Road Dangers—Shrine of St. Albanus—Hampstead's First Farm—Early Development—Edgar's Charter—Dunstan and Elfrida—In Edgar's Time—Ethelred's Charter—In the Tenth Century—Cucking-Pool—Cure for Scolds—The Miraculous Well—Under the Abbots—Edward the Confessor.



EOLOGICAL evidences indicate that where Hampstead now stands there was once the sea, open towards the north, intersected on the south by land under sub-tropical vegetation. How long this marine condition lasted can only be conjectured. Gradually, through countless ages, the action of the sea shaped the soil into a highly picturesque configuration of hills and dales, and when the water subsided, there emerged a landscape of surpassing beauty; then in course of time what we now call Hampstead Hill became part of a vast forest.

Eventually, under the influence of a moderated climate, and aided by the advent of man, Hampstead by degrees crept into history, and became connected with the current of British expansion; and now, a thousand years after its first documentary mention, it presents an interesting and in many respects important theme. Its story is not much concerned with great events; yet makers of history and a host of persons notable in literature or other arts have given a fame to Hampstead which renders the chronicle one of peculiar attractiveness.

Whether the Trinobantes or the Atrebates were the first British settlers to roam over the region will probably never be ascertained; nor need we speculate deeply upon what happened to the unnamed Hampstead on the coming of the Roman legions. This forest-clad hill would be one of the many difficulties which presented themselves to the invaders; for it was in such places that the Britons mostly took refuge, making frequent raids therefrom and causing their enemies no little trouble. Prior to the coming of the Romans there existed few regular roads across the hills to the north of the Thames valley. Track-ways cut through the forest connected clearing with clearing and village with village; several of these ways would be found winding over the range of northern hills of which Hampstead and Highgate were the more prominent features. There was probably a settlement in a clearing at Hendon, another at Barnet, and perhaps one at Edgware. Beyond we know was Verulamium or Verulam, the first place of importance north of London, and a road between that town and London must have been a necessity long before the Romans entered this region. Such a road—referred to by Norden and Camden—crossed Hampstead Heath, and it is possible that, “ancient and unaccustomed” as it was in Norden’s time, the Romans may have utilised it as one of the two routes between London and Verulamium, Watling Street being the other, but of distinctly later construction.

By the time Watling Street was built, passing through the forest, at a point not far from Hampstead, the clearings were utilised as military stations, and the conquerors became more settled in their possessions. There was a Roman camp at Pancras; according to Dr. Stukeley, one at Kingsbury;¹ another to the north-west of the White-Conduit House site.² It is deemed probable that Suetonius Paulinus went forth from the last-mentioned
 62 A.D. camp to fight his famous battle with Boadicea in 62 A.D., when, in spite of the desperate resistance they offered, the Britons were defeated, and Boadicea in despair took her own life. There is no certitude either as to the direction of the Roman general’s movements or as to the locality of the terrible encounter. It was long a tradition that the famous Queen of the Iceni was buried in the tumulus or barrow lying to the east of the Vale of Health between Ken Wood and Parliament Hill; but this was hardly borne out when, in 1894, the tumulus was opened under the direction of Sir C. H. Read, now President of the Society of Antiquaries, assisted by well-known archaeologists. No remains were disclosed. But this did not

¹ Stukeley’s *Itinerarium Curiosum*, ii. 3.

² Gough’s *Camden*, ii. 30.

altogether dispose of the theory that the mound was an ancient burial-place, it being concluded that it was probably a mound of the Early Bronze period, during which bodies were consigned to the earth without coffins, in time the buried bones becoming one with the dust.

Professor Hales, an authority whose opinion is entitled to special respect, is disposed to favour another tradition, which was mentioned by William Howitt in his *Northern Heights of London*. This sets forth that "in very early times the inhabitants of St. Albans, who aspired to make their town the



TUMULUS OR BARROW BETWEEN HAMPSTEAD AND HIGHGATE BEFORE THE FIRS DISAPPEARED.

From a drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

capital of this part of England, finding London becoming a vigorous rival, set out to attack and destroy it; but the Londoners, turning out in full force, met and vanquished their enemies of St. Albans on the spot, and this mound contains the dust of the slain." To Howitt's remark that traditions are always from one point of view or another worth regarding, Professor Hales adds that "they are sometimes based on historical fact," and considering that from the last century B.C. until the end of the first half of the first century A.D. the cities of St. Albans and London were at war, he thinks it probable that a battle between the forces of the two places may have been fought on Hampstead Heath. "One may well suppose," he writes, "that it was a battle of special note and importance that made so long and lasting an impression on the

popular mind, and may perhaps plausibly conjecture that it was the very battle in which fell King Immanentis himself."

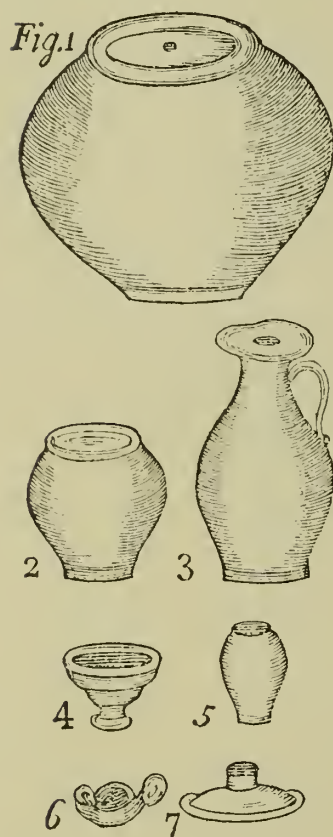
The weight of scientific opinion supports the view that the mound is an ancient burial barrow. It has a diameter of over forty yards, and the foss is distinct all round. The top was until recently adorned by Scotch firs, but these are now dead, and have not been replaced by others.

Only a few evidences of the Roman occupation have been discovered in Hampstead. The most important was the finding of an urn dug up in the

summer of 1774 near the Wells. The discovery is thus described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxvi., for the year 1776:—"Fig. 1. The repositorial urn, large enough to hold ten or twelve gallons, broken to pieces before it was got out of the ground. This was covered with a stone about a foot in diameter, in the middle of which was a hole, perforated, about one inch in diameter. Fig. 2. A small urn placed at the bottom of the former, in which were the remains of human bones, burnt. On the top of this was placed the pitcher, Fig. 3, containing, likewise, fragments of burnt bones. On the top of this a cover, Fig. 7. On the sides of these were found in a confused state four vases, varying in size, one of which is described, Fig. 4. A small jar (Fig. 5), which holds about half a pint. Two earthen lamps, Fig. 6." These figures are here reproduced from the woodcuts accompanying the article.

As it was the custom to inter warriors in the vicinity of the military roads this cannot be taken as a definite indication that the place was the site of a Roman villa; the urn may be merely evidence of an ordinary burial.

On the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans in 409 A.D. the people soon fell back into their old modes of life and government; and the island was parcelled out among petty chieftains, who assumed royal titles. After four centuries of Roman domination, the spirit of irresponsible freedom reasserted itself. The Britons went back to their woods and clearings, their hog-rearing, their primitive beliefs and usages, almost as if



ROMAN URN AND OTHER RELICS.
Dug up near the Hampstead Wells in 1774.

the Romans and their stern civilisation had never touched the land. Still, many permanent benefits remained from the alien rule. The Roman Roads—Watling Street and the road that crossed the Heath and led to Verulamium (St. Albans)—helped much in the development of Hampstead. On the other hand, there is no documentary record of the place, as in any respect distinct from Middlesex Forest, until towards the end of the tenth century, when Britain had been Christian for over three hundred years. At the time of the founding of the Monastery of St. Albans by Offa, King of Mercia (755-794), the boundaries of Hertfordshire, with a large part of which county the monastery was endowed,¹ were not clearly defined, and it was once thought, because of the place-name Henamstede having been mistaken for that of Hampstead, that both Hendon and Hampstead were among the lands included.² After the fall of Mercia and the growth of Wessex, St. Albans declined in importance, and Westminster grew at its expense. The first historical reference to Hampstead as a separate place occurs in a charter attributed to King Edgar, who died A.D. 975.

A.D.
755-794.

Long before that, however, there must have been, in a clearing on this elevated part of Middlesex Forest, a rude Saxon farm. Probably it was there in Alfred's time, or earlier, and constituted the ham, hame, or home-stede of some swarthy tiller and hog-farmer who in course of time turned it to profitable account. He must have been a bold man who made a home in the wooded wilderness. As the wide, fertile plains below offered easier conditions, he was perhaps lured by the abundance of game, the natural charm of the place, or exceptional terms of tenure. Be that as it may, he laid the foundation of what afterwards became known as Hamstede or (as they began to spell it at the middle of the thirteenth century, introducing a "p" for euphony's sake) Hampstead. The spelling Hampsted appears in the original fine, May 3, 1258, between Richard, Abbot of Westminster, and Walter, the Warden of the Hospital of St. James.

Imagine what the landscape was like in Anglo-Saxon times. Roads were few; vehicles were of the rudest kind; all the people in the rural regions and many in the towns lived in huts of wood or wattle, wore garments of sheepskin, and were without covering for their heads or feet. But for the fact that the old London road already mentioned struck through the forest near the farm and crossed the moor, the first Hampstead settler must have been almost cut off from communication with the world. Norden, who himself lived at Hendon, says: "the high waie which did leade to Edgworth, and soe to St. Albans was

¹ *Victoria County History: Herts*, i. 313; Dugdale, ii. 178.

² Cotton MS., Nero D, vii. f. 3b.

over Hampsted Heath, and thence to and through an old lane, called Hendon Wante, neere Hendon";¹ most authorities, however, are of opinion that the Edgware Road as it runs at present dates from Roman times. It was certainly the King's highway in the first years of the fourteenth century.

As it was, the settler's life must have been lonely and beset by dangers. Along the road he would sometimes see travellers passing with escorts, for the



MATTHEW OF PARIS.

From an old engraving inscribed "Matthoei Parisiensis historici (qui obiit 1259) vera effigies ex Libro ejus Chronicorum MS. olim sui ipsius, nunc Regio, desumpta."

forest was a haunt of robbers, outlaws, and fugitives; at other times bands of pilgrims going by on their way to or from the woodland shrines that the monks had set up. Now and then the sound of the hunter's horn, the barking of hounds, and the shouts of many voices would announce to the farmer that the King and his courtiers were assembled in the forest for the chase. The wild-ox, the wild-boar, the stag, and the wolf were common in the far-stretching woodlands, down to the days of the Plantagenets.² In

¹ *Speculum Britanniae*, Norden, 1593.

² *The Making of England*, J. R. Green.

the narrative of Fitz Stephen, the monk of Canterbury and secretary of Thomas Becket, we are told that the thickets contained coverts of game, stags, fallow deer, boars, and bulls. In the *Life* of the 12th Abbot of St. Albans, written by Matthew of Walsingham, incorporated with Matthew of Paris's *Chronicle* and usually going under his name, the woods contiguous to that part of Watling Street which lay between London and St. Albans, and included the Hampstead forest region, are described as almost impenetrable, and so much infested by outlaws and beasts of prey that the pilgrims who travelled along the Roman Road to the shrine of Albanus were always in imminent danger.

To this shrine came travellers and merchants for blessings on their projects before proceeding beyond the seas, but the perils of the road were so great that to prevent a falling-off in the number of pilgrims, and the consequent loss of revenue, the St. Albans chroniclers tell us that Leofstan, the 12th Abbot, who died in 1066, had to take measures for the better protection of his patrons. He had the road improved, and engaged a band of men, under the command of a knight named Thurnoth, to defend travellers on the highway. The troubles of the Conquest put an end to this arrangement, but the Abbot of Westminster, who owned at the time of Domesday a large manor near St. Albans, took up the duties. The right of exacting toll for this protection was a constant source of litigation between the two great abbeys, and lasted to the time of the Wars of the Roses. But the general result of the guardianship was favourable to the amenities of Hampstead life.¹ In 1876 workmen making an excavation at Holly Hill dug up an earthenware wine or ale flask, such as was used by pilgrims from the seventh until the fourteenth century. It was of the kind called a "costrel," and had a loop at each side for a thong or strap to be passed through, enabling it to be easily carried about. Doubtless it was a relic of one of the old-time pilgrimages.



PILGRIM'S COSTREL OR
FLASK.

Dug up at Holly Hill in 1876.

Dangers and inconveniences apart, there must have been many aspects of life in Hampstead that were highly exhilarating. It may be presumed that the farm-house was on the sunny slopes by Frognal, where from the

¹ See Matthew of Paris; Barton's *Itinerary*; Daniel's *History of England*; Newcomb's *History of St. Albans*; Lloyd's *History of Highgate*; *Victoria County History—Herts.*, ii. 150.

heights above could be seen, spreading itself at the bottom of the valley, some four or five miles off, unpolluted by smoke, the walled city of London, with its solid gateways, and the shipless Thames winding through and beyond the greyness. On other sides the outlook was across a vast tract of undulating woodland which included Highgate, Kilburn, Hendon, and Harrow, or their sites. It was a place of magnificent distances, of "health and quiet breathing," of sylvan gladness and radiant beauty.

It may be that, in respect of the remote clearing, the farmer did service by himself or proxy to some overlord, if he did not pay much rent. From generation to generation the holding must have been improved and extended. Men were required to work on the farm; huts for the workers and their families had to be built; and in time the original ham-stede became a hamlet, the hamlet grew into a village, and the King as lord paramount of the soil conferred manorial dignity upon the village, making some favourite lord of the manor of Hamstede.

Who the first lord, or who the first settler was, there is no possibility of learning.

Reaching the tenth century and the reign of King Edgar the Peaceable, we get our first glimpse of historical fact regarding Hampstead. Though not very clear, or specially informing, it is of great interest. Among the archives of Westminster Abbey there was once a charter of King Edgar, dated 978 A.D., granting Hampstead lands to a noble named Mangoda in recompense for his "devoted obedience and fidelity." The date, 978, is wrong, inasmuch as Edgar died in 975. No one now believes, indeed, that this charter was ever seen by King Edgar or his court. Saxon charters form a body of very interesting documents. It is, perhaps, unjust to use the term "monkish forgeries," but it very nearly represents the facts. No doubt some genuine charters exist, but the majority of them came into existence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the great monasteries had to produce written evidence of grants which were originally made, by word of mouth alone, in the county courts or in the Witan, of which no written testimony was required. All the charters of Westminster which mention Hampstead are of this class. Some of them—those of Edward the Confessor—were probably fabricated to be produced as evidence in the struggle with the Bishop of London as to his jurisdiction over the abbey; others, including the charters of Edgar and of Ethelred, in some early lawsuit affecting the boundaries of Hampstead and Hendon. But though the documents themselves are not the true

originals, there is no doubt that they represent actual traditions, and that they may even preserve for us the genuine facts of Saxon times. With this caution in mind, we shall speak of them under the names they present.¹ Among the signatures to the Edgar charter, in addition to that of the King, appear the names of Queen Elfrida, Dunstan, and other high personages of State as witnesses. Dunstan was the power behind the throne both in Edgar's and in Ethelred's reign, and no doubt was responsible for both charters. Let the precise date be what it may, we have reason to be grateful for the geographical facts which the charter sets forth.



ST. DUNSTAN (924-988).

Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury. From a painting in Westminster Abbey.

The land boundaries of the estate are described as being "from Sandgate south along the road to Foxhanger; from the hanger, west, to Watling Street; north along the Street to the Cucking-pool; from the Cucking-pool, east, to Sandgate." Such is the translation. Sandgate is supposed to have been the part of Hampstead called North End in more recent times. That would be the northern boundary point. Thence "along the road to Foxhanger," the description continues; which probably meant by the old Hampstead road to the wooded hill-side afterwards named Haverstock Hill. In a westerly direction, we cross to Watling Street (Edgware Road), and, treating the

¹ The charter is printed in full: Birch, *Cartularium*, iii. 634; and Kemble, vi. 105, No. 1275.

point of this irregular Anglo-Saxon Hamstede possession, comprising in all some 500 or 600 acres.

It was not a large possession, as lordly possessions went in those days;

† **P**ort namq̃ diuor̃p̃erū eustais cladiſer̃atq̃; et ar̃p̃abiles in pelicitates p̃egionis .
 angloꝝum obeuntē ead̃ſario p̃egē . adō diuor̃ito cur̃p̃u accepit p̃ſignūm filiur̃euñ .
 æthelredur̃ . qui t̃c̃ip̃re p̃at̃m̃at̃q̃s eiur̃ elom̃or̃inā p̃ſequit̃is . ad p̃re p̃at̃ū ſtatū eccleſie
 ſc̃i p̃ſqu in loco qui d̃r̃ peſt m̃ynſt̃er̃ p̃ſies lundomā . v . mañiuncular̃ lap̃ſit̃ur̃ . ē . et in iugē
 poſſeſſionē . monaſt̃uo p̃re p̃ato addidit̃e in d̃ſur̃ . p̃at̃m̃que hanc in loco quid̃r̃
 hain ſæde hiſ ſỹnamimb̃ur̃ circūmquaq̃ p̃re ſignaỹ uoſt̃m̃us . / E peſt et ſand̃ g̃æ ſp̃a ear̃
 tobedeſg̃ies ſỹuic leage . ſp̃a iul̃ to deoimodes p̃ſtan . q̃ deoimodes p̃ican to in edeman hem ſæde . ſp̃a x̃p̃i
 h̃ud laig̃ hagan to iur̃e leage . of iur̃e leage peſt æp̃t̃ meir̃ce to þom beaur̃ipe . of þam beaur̃ipe peſt ſlang
 maſice to ſtanſp̃ape . of þam ſp̃ape minon p̃æclinga ſq̃ute . ſp̃a noſid̃ ſlang p̃æclinga ſq̃ute to m̃ær̃i bur̃nan .
 of m̃ær̃i bur̃nan eft ear̃t̃ æp̃t̃er̃ meir̃ce to ſand̃ g̃æ . Hoc autem donum p̃re p̃og̃raue donationis
 añho dominice incip̃iatiōis . d̃cccc . lxxvi . hiſ æſabus conſtit̃at̃ib̃ur̃ ſỹnamat̃m
 eſſe in d̃ſur̃ . et p̃ur̃ d̃unſtan ant̃eſas . ap̃ . emmo æthelredo p̃ur̃ſur̃ . et p̃ur̃ſur̃ .

p̃ſur̃ nomina ſcribi in d̃ſur̃ .
 † **E**go æthelredur̃ rex dulci uoluntatis p̃ſagūne in honore d̃i hoc donū dedisse in d̃ſur̃
 † **E**go d̃unſtan indignus ant̃eſas æcl̃e x̃p̃i c̃ſh̃r̃i et ſp̃at̃ulabundur̃ hoc donū ad ſc̃m p̃ſqu acce
 † **E**go ofpald ap̃c̃ æp̃t̃ conſtit̃i et ſubſcrip̃t̃ .
 † **E**go ælph̃eah ep̃t̃ conſent̃i et ſubſcrip̃t̃ .
 † **E**go ælſgar̃ æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub
 † **E**go ælſp̃ic æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub
 † **E**go ælſp̃can lundom̃iſis æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub
 † **E**go ſiſp̃uc æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub
 † **E**go ælſp̃ æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub
 † **E**go ælph̃eah æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub
 † **E**go ælſp̃ æp̃t̃ conſ̃ et ſub .

Quicūq̃ auſp̃iat aliquantūlā p̃ari
 t̃e hereditatis in hac capitula ab
 eccleſia ſc̃i p̃ſqu quær̃ita eſt in
 peſt m̃ynſt̃er̃ . auſp̃iat om̃ip̃s
 d̃r̃ ab illo in p̃ſp̃ſatū ſuæ inſe
 in cop̃diam p̃ſt̃at̃ .

REPRODUCTION OF THE ÆTHELRED CHARTER OF A.D. 986.

Photographed from the original in the British Museum.

still, it must have been regarded as of considerable value. The estate conferred upon Mangoda was for his own life, with power of alienation by will, to take effect after his death. In the event of his dying without heirs, the

estate was to revert to the Crown. That is evidently what happened. In 986 King Ethelred II. granted the Manor of Hamstede to the Church of St. Peter at Westminster, under a somewhat more extended description, which it will be interesting for us to examine.

This charter, which was at one time in the Westminster archives, passed into the collection of the Marquis of Buckingham, and is now in the British Museum.¹ A photographic reproduction of the original is given on pp. 10, 11. It will be observed that the document is not a grant by Ethelred, but the statement that such a grant had been made. The following is a translation :

A.D. 986.

ÆTHELRED, A.D. 986

After the dire events, the disasters, troubles, and confusions in the region of the Angles, King Eadgar dying, his son Æthelred, God so disposing, took the kingdom, who himself, following the almsgiving of his father, bestowed upon the aforesaid church of S. Peter, in the place which is called Westminster, within London, 5 yokelets, and appears to have added them in perpetual possession to the aforesaid monastery, and we see that this portion in the place which is called Hampstead is encompassed round about by these boundaries—First at Sandgate, so east to Bedegares Stynic lea; there south to Deormod's wick; from Deormod's wick to Middle Hampstead; so forth along the hay to Rushlea; from Rushlea west by the marsh to the barrow; from the barrow west along the march to Stone Grove; from the grove in to

Watling Street; so north along Watling Street to Mœrburn; from Mœrburn again east by the march to Sandgate. Moreover this gift of prerogative grant in the year of the Dominical Incarnation 986, appears to be confirmed, these witnesses consenting—and as Dunstan the High Priest earned it from his Lord King Æthelred—whose names appear to be written beneath.



ST. DUNSTAN AND THE DEVIL
(From the Luttrell Psalter).

+ I, Æthelred, King, grace and good will presaging, have thought fit to grant this gift, to the honour of God.

+ I, Dunstan, unworthy high priest of Christ's Church, have consented and congratulating appear to have accepted this gift to S. Peter.

+ I, Oswald, archbishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Ælfheah, bishop, have consented and subscribed.²

+ I, Æthelgar, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Ælfric, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Ælfstan, bishop, of London, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Sigric, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Athulf, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Ælfheah, bishop, have consented and subscribed.³

¹ Stowe Charter, 33.

² Ælfheah was bishop of Winchester, 986-1006.

³ This Ælfheah was bishop of Lichfield, 992-1007.

+ I, Æscwig, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

Whoever shall abstract the smallest portion of the inheritance in this charter from the church of S. Peter, which is situated in Westminster, may God Almighty for ever withdraw from him the mercy of His loving-kindness.

[ON BACK]

An ancient land-deed of Ethelred, King of England, concerning land at Hampstead granted to the Church of Westminster in the year of our Lord 986, with the boundaries.

Middlesex—Westminster—Hampstead.



DUCKING-CHAIR AT FORDWICH NEAR CANTERBURY, 1912.

Although some of the boundary points mentioned are difficult of precise identification, there can be little doubt that the main lines of delimitation are the same in one charter as in the other. "Bedegar's Stynic lea" is supposed by some Anglo-Saxon scholars to refer to a hog-run or cattle-run in the neighbourhood of The Spaniards site; the site of Deormod's house is assigned to a place in or near the Vale of Health, though who Deormod was—whether freeman or villein—we have no means of knowing; Middle Hampstead was possibly a place of mud dwellings, constituting the village; the Rushes, a tract of marsh-land; the Barrow Hill is Primrose Hill;¹

¹ A road near here is still called "Barrow Hill Road."

and the boundary brook the bourne that ran across or under Watling Street, near the Cucking-pool.



DUCKING-STOOL, IPSWICH MUSEUM.

From a photograph by F. Woolnough, Esq.

The Cucking-pool received its name from the old-time custom of “ducking” scolding women in a pond as a punishment for transgressions



DUCKING-STOOL.

From a chap-book illustration.

against the peace of their households and the credit of the community. In mediæval times nearly every town and village had its cucking or ducking

pool. In early Anglo-Saxon times “cucking” and “ducking” differed. In cucking the offender, man or woman, sat for a certain time in a chair at his or her own door or in some public place; many were the minor offences thus requited. Ducking, on the other hand, was prescribed for scolds alone, who were dipped or “ducked” in the water. In later times, however, the terms “cucking” and “ducking” as applied to the punishment of scolds were synonymous. In Gay’s pastoral, *The Dumps*, we read :

I’ll speed to the pool, where the high stool
On the long plank hangs o’er the muddy pool,
That stood the dread of every scolding quean.



THE STOCKS AT THE BOTTOM OF FLASK WALK, 1831.

From a drawing by A. R. Quinton (from a memory-sketch by G. W. Potter) in the Bell-Moor Collection.

Elizabethan literature abounds in references to the “cucking-stool,” which was a chair suspended from a beam. Into this chair the culprit was tied; then she was let down into the water, and ducked as often as the sentence directed. Although cucking-pools were in common use until the eighteenth century, the one at Hampstead seems to have been disestablished before then. Presumably, however, the village was typical in these matters as in others until the time of its becoming a fashionable resort. “Madam,” said Dr. Johnson to a well-known Quakeress, “we have different modes of restraining evil—stocks for men, a ducking-stool for women, and a pound for beasts.” The stocks and the pound were in use at Hampstead when Dr. Johnson himself was a resident there, and we may be sure that the cucking-stool had in former times been a familiar object. The stocks, which were used as late as 1831,

stood on a triangular space at the bottom of Flask Walk, facing Gardnor House. There is still a pound in the hollow opposite the Whitestone Pond, on the eastern side of the Spaniards Road. This dates from 1787; it took the place of another pound, for having removed which a man was "presented" at the Manor Court, as mentioned in Appendix I. It is worth while noting that the gate of the existing pound had for its side supports two jaw-bones



THE POUND IN 1911.

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

of a whale; these, having become warped or insecure, were removed some years ago.

There is a tradition that when the manor of Hampstead was granted by Ethelred the Unready to the Church of St. Peter, Westminster, one of its famed possessions was a miraculous well. This well (so ran the pious legend) was formed by an English saint, who had brought from Tours a small bottle containing four tears of the Blessed Virgin. The saint, going into the "wild fields to fast and pray," always carried his precious relic with him; but one day, in an ecstasy of devotion, he let it fall, and the holy tears were

spilled. That night in a vision he was informed that where the tears had fallen he would find a spring which should cure many diseases. On walking forth to inspect the scene, he discovered that his vision had been made good. Such, the people of Anglo-Saxon times were led to believe, was the origin of the chalybeate spring of which so much was made in later times.

What the Abbots of Westminster did with the manor of Hampstead during the next eighty years does not appear in any record that has been discovered. Possessed of the manorial rights, they granted lands to such faithful servants of the Church as were prepared to do the necessary homage and pay the necessary rents; in return some small religious house—priory or cell—was probably built where holy rites were performed. In those times all grants of land, as is instanced in the charter to Mangoda, were conditional on the grantee contributing to the cost of military expeditions and of constructing bridges and fortresses. Failing as regards these observances, or doing aught whereby the donation was diverted to any other purpose, the offender was to be excommunicated, condemned to infernal torments, and denounced as a companion of Judas. Nevertheless, there was always a loophole for escape. The guilty man could purge himself by reparation, which usually took the form of a substantial payment of money.

In the absence of any testimony to the contrary, we may presume that the eighty years between the granting of the charter of Ethelred and 1065, A.D. 1065. when King Edward the Confessor lay on his deathbed, had been a period of comparative quietude in the budding village on Hampstead Hill, and that the feudal spirit, which had been gathering force elsewhere, had placed no harassing strain upon the hundred or so of inhabitants of Hampstead.

Edward was a generous benefactor of the Church as far as was in his power. He had in the last year of his life completed the restoration of Westminster Abbey, and in honour of its consecration had bestowed upon it large revenues; among other acts, confirming all the grants made to the Church by Edgar, Ethelred, Dunstan, and himself, including the Manor of Ham-stede, the value of which was declared to be one hundred shillings.¹ Edward was buried in the Abbey, in a magnificent tomb which still exists; and in the little chapel at Hampstead many candles would be burnt, and many prayers said, for the repose of his soul.

¹ Three charters are in existence: one in the British Museum [Augustus II., 58], one in Westminster Abbey with a seal, and a third in the Hatton Collection [*Arch. Trans.* xix. 176]. All three are printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

CHAPTER II

UNDER MONASTIC RULE

After the Conquest—In Domesday—Ranulf Pevrel—Pevrel's Identity—Domesday Holdings—Villeins—Boors and Bondmen—In Norman Times—A Time of Transition—Kilburn Nunnery—Disforestation—Various Abbots—The Crokesley Bequests—A Moderating Ordinance—Lawsuits—Earliest Mention of Belsize—Roger le Brabazon—Nicholas de Litlyngton—Alienation of Abbey Lands—The de Barentyns—Quarrels between London and Westminster—Constantine Fitz-Alulf—His lands at Hampstead.

A.D. 1066.



EST there was for Edward the Confessor ; but England swiftly passed into chaos and disorder. William of Normandy swooped down upon the land, seizing the estates of his foemen—ecclesiastics and laymen. The Saxons were dispossessed and practically placed in bondage ; Norman favourites were put into lordly power over the confiscated manors and lands. Hampstead suffered not less than the rest of the country.

A.D. 1086.

1086, twenty years after the Conquest, it was shown that since the Confessor's time the manor had diminished in value by a half, and that a Norman knight shared the ownership with the over-lord, the Abbot of Westminster.

The Domesday reference to Hampstead may be rendered in these words :

IN OSULVESTANE HUNDRED¹

Manor.—The Abbot of S. Peter holds Hamestede for four hides. Land to three ploughs. Three hides and a half belong to the demesne, and there is one plough therein. The villanes have one plough and another may be made. There is one villane of one virgate ; and one bondman. Pannage for one hundred hogs. In the whole it is worth fifty shillings ; the same when received ; in King Edward's time one hundred shillings.

In the same village, Ranulf Pevrel holds under the Abbot one hide of the land of the

¹ Ossulstone Hundred, which was of large extent and included Stepney. In later times Hampstead is sometimes entered as in Elthorne Hundred.

villanes. Land to half a plough, and it is there. This land was and is worth five shillings. The manor altogether laid and lies in the demesne of the Church of S. Peter.

Here we have certain solid and understandable facts, together with some statements that cannot now be fully comprehended. The Hamstede holding of the Abbot of Westminster, it would appear, consisted of four hides, which—as a hide in Middlesex may be taken as 120 acres—would make the total 480 acres. The hide measure varied considerably in different parts of the country; but there is evidence that in Middlesex it was as stated. Vitalis was Abbot of Westminster at this date; it was he who set Sulcardus, “the best pen they had belonging to the abbey,” to draw up the history of the place, “in order to give it a figure in the world.” It is said that Sulcardus defended the title of the monastery to some lands, and “maintained his point”; but the contention was probably in respect of more important lands than those of Hamstede.

Hampstead was a five-hide holding—five casatas in the Mangoda grant, five mansiunculae in the Ethelred grant, five hides in the Confessor’s. Five hides, however, did not represent a fixed quantity of land by any means; it was the normal knight’s fee, owing the service of one knight to the King in war. When we first hear of Hampstead after the Conquest, the Abbot only owed four-fifths of a knight’s service, the other fifth had become separated altogether.

In an ancient document giving the hidage of Middlesex,¹ Hamsteade is given as “v hides, of which the Abbot answered to the King for iv.” The source of this document dates possibly from the time of Henry I. (1100-1135), A.D. 1100. and certainly not later than 1160. There is nothing in it to show how the fifth hide had become separated definitely from all dependence on the manor of Hampstead by the date of the “hidage.”

It would be tempting to see in this lost hide the “Feodum Peverelli,” which owed one-fifth of a knight’s service (*i.e.* was one hide) that we find incorporated in the Barony of William de Say (Inquest of Service, 1212), and, in 1353, part of the manor of Edelmonton, held by the prior of Trinity. A charter of Henry III. (1337) (Charter Rolls, 11 H. 3, p. 1, n. 34) refers to the lands in Hamstede of the Prior of Holy Trinity, Christchurch, Aldgate, given to it by Robert de Gatton, then held by Gilbert de Bradale.

William de Say, who died in 1140, was in turn son-in-law and brother-in-law A.D. 1140. to the Mandevilles, the great Essex family who had succeeded (1141) to the escheated lands of William Peverill, son of Ranulf (before 1130), and thus a link between the Domesday and the Inquest may be imagined, but the evidence

¹ British Museum Additional MSS. 14252, f. 126.

is too feeble, and our ignorance of the period too great, to allow of more than a suggestion of probability.

Of the four hides in the Abbot's holding in Hampstead, three and a half (420 acres) constituted the demesne. Then the villeins had "one plough," about 240 acres; and "another plough might be made," which meant that there was that quantity of waste land at their disposal if they chose to cultivate it; thus the villeins were nominal owners of some 480 acres. Ranulf Pevrel, presumed to be the Norman Knight who had married Ingelrica, the discarded Saxon mistress of the Conqueror, held "under the Abbot one hide of the land of the villanes." It has been doubted whether this Pevrel could be the same as the Conqueror's favourite (to whom the King granted in all sixty-four manors or lordships) who gave his own name to and adopted as his own the son that Ingelrica had borne to the King. There is nothing, however, that amounts to direct disproof of such identification. It is not known that there was more than one family of the name of Pevrel, and it is probable that the William Peverel who became Lord of Nottingham and builder of the great Castle of the Peak—the "Peveril of the Peak" celebrated in Scott's historical romance—was the name-son of the original Peverel of the Domesday Book. It has been thought that the comparative insignificance of the Hamstede holding of Ranulf Pevrel argued against this Pevrel being the Conqueror's favourite; but that is to claim that there were two Pevrels of the same Christian name figuring in the Domesday survey. It seems fair to suppose that, had this been the case, the record would have given some additional distinctive appellation to the Hamstede Pevrel; yet Park, who found it "hardly possible to believe that the Hamstede Ranulf Pevrel was the same as the Norman favourite," quotes against his own belief the remark of John Nichols in his *Dissertation on Domesday Book* that "it is a matter of surprise often to find that great men have *very small parcels of land* of little value, at a great distance from their other lands," adding, "perhaps they wanted information of their real worth when they petitioned for or accepted them; or they might think some little things convenient or improveable; or, afterwards, they might serve to gratify some of their little retainers with what was not worth their own keeping." It is not a matter of importance, except from the point of view of association, inasmuch as we possess no further record of a Peverel connection with Hampstead. At all events, Peverel might not be a Hampstead resident; though he and his retinue might occasionally ride out to view the place—perhaps in company with some of the monks of

Westminster. It will be interesting and instructive to attempt from the description in the Domesday record to gather some conception of the condition and aspect of the Hampstead of that period. We know that the lords of the soil did not permanently reside there. Whatever small religious house may have stood upon the spot would be in the occupation of a few subordinate lay brethren, upon whom devolved the duty of superintending the cultivation of the farm lands.

The real inhabitants of Hampstead at this time were the tillers of the soil and the swineherds, living in a state of villeinage, under their lord, the Abbot of Westminster, or, as regards the limited area specified as in his possession, under Ranulf Pevrel. The Hampstead villeins belonged to the first rank of serfs, there being a still lower order, the borders or boors; both classes were bound to the land, and absolutely owned by the lord, and liable to be reclaimed if they left the village. They were compelled to do what work was required of them on the manorial lands, and to furnish all necessary seed, without money payment; on the other hand, they were kept and clothed by the lord, and held lands of their own, which they cultivated according to the custom of the manor. Villeins had a status considerably above that of the boors; they constituted a community, and cultivated their lands in common, each villein being in possession of his own strip in the open fields. The boors were mostly squatters on the waste, who, in exchange for the privilege of their holdings, were required to devote three or four days a week to the work of the lord's farm; whereas the villeins gave perhaps only two or three weeks' service during the season. As for the "one bondman," he was a slave pure and simple, without land or rights, and completely at his lord's command and disposal. Mr. J. Kennedy,¹ in a careful calculation based on the statements in Domesday Book, estimates that the common land of the Hampstead villeins at this period amounted to 480 acres, and that, while the culturable area of the manor was about 780 acres, the actual yearly cultivation would vary from 150 to 170 acres. There was also villein's service due to the Abbot of Westminster in respect of the land held by Pevrel; but this was commuted by a payment of 5s.

We can imagine Hampstead as a fair example of the English village of the early Norman period. There were great stretches of cornland, and meadow and pasture; and on the wood along the height the hundred hogs found pannage among the acorns and beechmast. There was a mill for the grinding

¹ *The Manor and Parish Church of Hampstead*, J. Kennedy, 1906.

of the corn, this and the little chapel being provided by the Abbey, and a source of profit to it ; and some fifteen or twenty families constituted the population.

In that time all agriculture was carried out by the whole parish or manor in common. The arable land of the village was divided into either two or three great fields according to the system of the rotation of crops employed. Each field was divided into long strips, usually a perch wide, by balks of turf. A villein's holding might be one or more of these strips scattered over the whole field. Judging from the inquest of 1312, published by Mr. Kennedy, it may be assumed that Hampstead was worked on the two-field system at that time. After the crops were reaped the fields and meadows were thrown open for grazing to the cattle and sheep of the farmers. A number of interesting details as to the agriculture of Hampstead in the year 1307 may be gleaned from the reports of the Sequestrators of the Temple lands. As every one knows, the Knights Templars were arrested throughout England on December 20, 1307, when the whole of their property was taken into the King's hands. A great roll of accounts still exists in the Record Office, giving the minutest details of their property down to the drinking-cups used in their farmsteads. From these accounts we learn that when the lands of the Templars were seized 66 acres of wheat and 12 acres of winter wheat had already been sown, and that the Sequestrator had to sow 40 acres of pease, and 35 acres of oats in the Hampstead holding, using $17\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of oats for seed, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter to the acre. The amount of stock seems fairly high.

After Domesday the records give us but few references to Hampstead for nearly two hundred years. History was being made at a great enough pace in the country generally, especially in the ever-growing city four miles away in the Thames Valley, and the lords of Hampstead, the Abbots, were not unprominent in public affairs ; but Hampstead itself made no recorded manifestation of interest in what was going on outside its borders.

How the Hampstead labourers bore their serfdom we do not know. The times were turbulent enough ; but the Norman rule was stern. What with the absolute despotism of the Crown, the exactions of the Church, and the local dominance of the feudal barons, the subservience of the people was complete. The bishops and abbots stood steadfastly by the new race of kings, and, in their turn, the kings supported the prelates. It was the Church, however, that captured the quiet places of the kingdom and held sway there.

Among the shrines in the neighbourhood were those of Our Lady of Willesden, Our Lady of Muswell Hill (on the site of the Alexandra Palace), and

Our Lady of the Oke at Gospel Oak. Large bands of pilgrims were often to be seen issuing from the city, some riding, some walking, men, women, and children wending their way to the shrine of Our Lady of Muswell Hill; after paying their devotions to the richly decorated effigy, they returned to Town, singing and dancing through Hampstead or other villages in the clearings. These pilgrimages were in large measure excuses for merrymakings. There were plenty of accessible shrines in the city; but how much better it was to get out into the fields and woods and sunshine! Besides, there were taverns and booths just outside the holy places. "All the summer's day," wrote Sir Walter Besant, "they wandered about the hills—Muswell, Highgate, Hampstead:



KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.
From Matthew of Paris's *Chronicle*.

they sat about on the Heath, which was then much what it is now, save that it had fewer trees, and abounded with creatures that are found there no more.”¹

As a local incident of the period, it may be mentioned that in the reign of Henry I., early in the eleventh century, a holy man named Godwyn, with the approval of Abbot Herbert, built himself a cell or hermitage on the southern slope of Hampstead, in the hamlet of Kilburn, and afterwards, resigning it into the hands of the convent of Westminster, was appointed master or warden of the nunnery of Kilburn for life, “with the consent of the convent and in the time of Gilbert, Bishop of London, from his great learning called the Universal.” The story of Kilburn nunnery, however, is more particularly related in a later chapter.

¹ Preface to *Hampstead Annual*, vol. i., 1897.

A.D. 1157.

From the Westminster archives we obtain the information that in 1157 Pope Adrian IV.—Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman ever raised to the Papal chair—confirmed to the Abbey of Westminster the possession of their estates, including “Villa de Hamstede,” as in the time of Edward the Confessor. There is nothing said concerning the condition of Hampstead at this period, when Thomas Becket was Chancellor and people were talking of a third crusade; but we know that the disafforestation of the great Forest of Middlesex, by which Hampstead was hemmed in, was ordered in 1218 by Henry III., three years after the signing of the Magna Charta by King John, and that a more general clearance was attempted in 1224; but the ancient wood which had for so long afforded cover for the wild boar and the wild ox¹ remained as a danger to wayfarers and an excitement of the chase to a considerably later period,² for the benefit of the citizens of London, who, according to Stow, were thus given “an opportunity of buying land, and building, whereby the suburbs were greatly extended.” This concession appears to have made little difference to Hampstead. Few, if any, London citizens desired to erect country houses at such an altitude, and at so great a distance from the city. Besides, it was a region with a bad character; the Hampstead woods being still the hiding-place of robbers, as well as the abode of wild creatures. There was a belt of heaths, including those of Hampstead and Hounslow, separating the Forest of Staines—which stretched from Brentford to the mouth of the Colne—from the Forest of Middlesex.³ The forest lands around Hampstead were gradually cleared, but as late as 1550 what was called Hampstead wood, which formed part of the larger Tottenham woods, was of considerable extent. To-day, if any lingering remnants of the ancient forest remain, they are to be looked for in the grounds of Ken Wood,⁴ where, however, there has recently been a regrettable destruction of old trees.

The Abbey granted away much of the land at Hampstead. Thus, there was a grant of one hide of land and a simultaneous lawsuit as to a holding of three carucates (=hides) in the same year (circa 1230), accounting for the whole of four hides. We cannot fix a date for this latter grant by the Abbot, which presumably was an early one. Abbot Gervase de Blois was probably not responsible, as the list of his grants in Sperley’s History⁵ does not mention Hampstead, though the Bull of Adrian IV. refers to it by name.

¹ Green’s *History of the English People*.² Maitland’s *History of London*.³ *Memorials of Old Middlesex*, Cox.⁴ *History of Edmonton*, Robinson, 1819.⁵ British Museum MSS., Claudius A, viii. p. 41a.

Abbot Walter (1175-1190) is the more likely culprit. At any rate, we find A.D. 1175. that in the first half of the thirteenth century the four hides are in the possession of the Barentyn family, who seem to have been paying a head rent of 40s. for it. This rent was assigned by Abbot William de Humez (1214-1222) to the Infermarius for the celebration of his anniversary.¹

Under Abbot Richard de Barking (1222-1246) many grants were re- A.D. 1222. purchased for the monastery, each being charged with a special obligation so that they could not be alienated readily; but Hampstead was not charged. The next abbot was Richard de Crokesley (1246-1258), and he appears to have followed the safeguarding policy of his predecessor, since in charging Hampstead and Stoke with the payment of certain anniversary monies, he alludes to them as "manors which he had acquired by his own industry."

In following up the early history of the connection of Hampstead with its over-lord the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, we come upon frequent traces of a practice from which nearly every great foundation suffered in those days—the alienation of abbey lands. The practice survived to times within the memory of living men; the institution of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners put a stop to it. Rumour has pointed to more than one prelate who, unable to sell the lands of their sees, made large fortunes by granting long leases at low rents and heavy premiums. The abbot of a monastery was usually unable to grant away the property of the foundation without royal and even papal permission, but in the times referred to he was often able to obtain the sanction of his convent to the granting of a perpetual lease of a manor, to any person he desired to gratify, at a small rent. It is possible that the holding of a hide of land in Hampstead by Ranulf Pevrel was due to a grant of this sort, and we are expressly told that much alienation of the abbey lands took place in the vacancy which occurred between Abbot Crispin² and Abbot Herebert. After each period of alienation came, as a natural sequence, a period of recovery. The unsleeping vigilant tenacity of the Church devoted every effort to recover the broad lands granted away so thoughtlessly, and it was the proudest title of many an abbot and prior that he had recovered the manors granted away by his predecessor. We shall see this process of recovery in Hampstead itself, where the separate holdings granted away to knights, merchants, and mintmasters came back one by one, even after a century, to the abbey from which they had been alienated. We know not when Hampstead

¹ British Museum MSS., Claudius A, viii. f. 47b; Fleta, p. 102.

² Dr. Armitage Robinson, on Gilbert Crispin, p. 26.

was granted away by its abbot. No record of any kind can be traced. We have evidence of the monstrous dilapidations due to the action of Gervase of Blois, natural son of King Stephen, during the twenty years of his abbacy. The tale of his grants is long enough, but it does not include the name of Hampstead, though the neighbouring manor of Hendon was granted by him to Gilbert le Rous, son of Gunter, for an annual rent of £20, which was afterwards slightly increased. It may, indeed, have already passed out of the immediate control of the abbey, and its mention in Adrian's Bull of Confirmation, 1157, be merely a record of the abbey's rights to hold the manor courts and receive the court fees, which it could not grant away. On the other hand, it may be that the alienation is due to Abbot Walter (1176-1191), who granted away some estates in fee-farm, of which we have lost the record. Certainly, by the reign of John, and most probably in the reign of his father, Henry II., or of Richard, the four hides of the Abbot's lands in Hampstead were in the hands of a lay possessor, Alexander de Barentyn.

A.D. 1157.

A.D. 1242.

The proof of this statement depends on the fact that Alexander de Barentyn granted some time before 1204 one hide of land in Hampstead to the Leper Hospital of St. James (of which we shall speak later). This grant with others was confirmed by Charter of King John on January 29, 1204, and again by his son, Henry III., in 1242, and was the subject of a lawsuit in 1258. The other three hides and the manor house seem to have been in the possession of Richard de Barentyn, and to have been left to his heir, his niece Sibilla, for in the year 1230 we learn from a writ that a lawsuit between her and a certain Gilbert de Hendon was in progress concerning the right to three carucates of land, and a messuage in Hampstead which was settled by a fine in April 28, 1232, on payment of six marks to Gilbert. It is certain that this was the Middlesex Hampstead, as the writ is addressed to the Sheriff of Middlesex. Later on, the Barentyn family lost their holding of land in Hampstead, but for long after, they retained the right of presentation to the Chapel in the Manor of Hampstead, as we learn from a presentation in 1334 by Edward III. as guardian of Gilbert de Barentyn, then a minor.

Barentyn itself is a little Norman village, lying some eleven miles north-west of Rouen. To-day the line from Havre crosses the valley in which it lies by a great arched viaduct.

The Barentyns were among the numerous nobles who held lands in England and France, and when Normandy was finally severed from England in the reign of John a branch remained in this country. One of them,

Alexander de Barentyn, was granted the vill of Stoke in Henley, by Henry II. His son, Richard de Barentyn, fought for King John in the conquest of Ulster, and probably died there. Another of the family, Drogo, was one of Henry III.'s most trusted servants.

Of Richard de Barentyn we know very little, except that he served in Ireland, and was advanced the sum of six marks by the Exchequer, for the repayment of which sum his heiress and niece (or granddaughter) Sibilla and her husband, Sir Andrew de Grendon, were prosecuted in 1229, and that he owned lands in various parts of the country. His lands in Sussex were taken into the Sheriff's hands on July 24, 1212, showing that he was probably dead A.D. 1212. by this time, and two charters formerly entered in the archives of Westminster Abbey show a connection with another Westminster manor, Iveney, in Middlesex, which is not without some significance. The first is a charter of Richard de Barentyn, son of Alexander, giving to Walter of Riparia all his lands of Barentyn in return for an estate in Iveney. This charter was witnessed by William Longsword, the King's brother, of whom Walter was the seneschal, most probably during the Ulster campaign. The second charter is one of Thomas de Barentyn giving up to a certain Osbert, on account of the debts which his brother Richard de Barentyn owed him at his death, all his lands in the manor of Iveney. One cannot help thinking that this must have some connection with the fact that a certain Ralph of Iveney in 1223, claimed to be the superior tenant of $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in Hampstead which had come into the King's hands on the execution of Constantine Fitz-Alulf; but before pursuing this interesting episode of Hampstead's history, we may briefly trace the subsequent notices of the Barentyn family and other contemporary matters. The Barentyns are usually described as being the lords of the manor of Herdynton (Harlington), a manor in Middlesex, but this they certainly were not, though they probably were freehold tenants. We find in 1306 William de Barentyn mentioned A.D. 1306. with his wife Joan. In 1316 their son Gilbert de Barentyn is named, who died in 1327, leaving a son Gilbert. In 1415 Reginald Barentyn is spoken of as Lord of Herdynton and Dalley. The knight's fee of Herdynton was held in 1353 by William of Harpenden, heir of Roger de Harpenden, and the knight's fee of Dalley was held by John Lovell, William Lovell, and others as heirs of Matillis of the White Monastery.

The reign of Henry III. was marked by a long series of lawsuits carried on in the interests of the Abbots of Westminster with a view to the recovery

of their lost estates. They were not always successful, but they affirmed and strengthened their interest in the broad lands which would otherwise have been lost to them. The earliest of these actions, brought by Abbot Richard of Barking against Gilbert le Rous of Hendon, one of Henry's most trusted judges, to recover the manor of Hendon, was settled in February 1266 by agreement. Gilbert was to pay an annual rent of £22, 36 quarters of wheat, 20 quarters of meal, 40 quarters of oats, to provide eight men with scythes for two days, and eight waggons with two men and two horses each for carting hay, and was, besides, to offer due hospitality to the Abbot and his train once every year at Hendon, for two days and a portion of the third, the Abbot being accompanied by his seven chief servants, and not more than thirty followers. He was to have food, drink, and candles. The thirty-five horses were to have a bushel of oats each. Two wax candles of 1 lb. each were to be burned before the Abbot, and thirty-five candles each ten fingers long were to be used for his followers, while each of the chief servants, steward, chamberlain, pantler, butler, usher, cook, and master of the horse, was to be presented on leaving with 1s. If the Abbot did not ride to Hendon that year, Gilbert got off with a payment of ten marks. The deed provides that the lessee of Hendon should receive the annual payment of 5s. from a hide of land held by William de Herlane; it also indicates that a former holder was called Nigel de Bréauté.

It was probably in consequence of this settlement with the Abbot of Westminster that Gilbert embarked on the lawsuit with the heiress of the
A.D. 1232. Barentyns, which was decided against him on April 25, 1232. From this decision we learn the names of two other Hampstead residents at the time—Joscelin de Cicester, and Alvreda his wife.

Another property in Hampstead, however, was lost to Westminster—the holding of a certain Otto Fitz-William. He was a goldsmith, Master of the Mint at London, and architect of Westminster Abbey, where he built the Lady Chapel, pulled down in Henry VII.'s time. He granted in 1237 the manor of Lilleston [Lisson] to the Knights of the Temple for a period of forty years, repeating the gift without any limitation the next year, and confirming it by a friendly lawsuit in 1240. In 1243 a certain Hamo Fitz-Roger gave the Temple 80 acres of land with appurtenances in Lilleston, Hampstead, and Hendon, being probably the lands lying along the Edgware Road; and other gifts of land in the neighbourhood are recorded, the return being an admission of the donors and their family to a share in the good works and prayers of the Temple. The lands thus granted away never came

back to Westminster, though it received a small annual rent in respect of them. When the Templars' property was seized it passed into the hands of the Hospitallers, and this property in Hampstead seems to have become the nucleus of the later manor of Shoot-up.

A Hampstead resident of some importance, of whom we know very little, is a certain Robert le Baut of Lodington, who sold in 1260 a messuage, A. D. 1260. 40 acres of land, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wood in Hampstead to William le Linen-draper, who was to pay him 6d. an acre. We find also that this Robert le Baut in 1275 brought a lawsuit against the Temple for the ownership of 140 acres of lands and woods with appurtenances, which was unsuccessful, and it may be surmised that this action was, partly at any rate, in the interests of the Abbots of Westminster, as we learn that he had demised the remainder of his holding with the villeins upon it to the convent. Later on we shall come upon the creation of several manors out of subordinate holdings.

The revenues of the Hampstead holdings suffered severely from the testament of Abbot de Crokesley previously mentioned. In order that he might be convivially as well as religiously remembered, he assigned "the whole produce of Hampstead and Stoke for the celebration of his anniversary¹ in that monastery by the ringing of bells, and the giving of doles during a whole week, to the amount of 4000 pence;² a thousand pence to as many paupers on the first day, and the same dole to 500 others on the six days following." There had also to be provided "a feast with wine, a dish of meat, and a double pittance to the monks in the refectory." A mass was to be performed "by the Convent in copes, on the anniversary day"; and there were to be "four masses daily at four different altars for the repose of his soul for ever."

Abbot Crokesley had appraised his memory at too great a price. The burden proved to be more than the monks could bear; likewise, the forms and ceremonies of the annual commemoration were more than they cared to repeat year by year; so after a few anniversaries they petitioned the Pope to relieve them from the responsibility of these charges and duties, and begged to be allowed to have the revenues of Hamstede and Stoke reassigned to their original holy purposes. In response to this appeal the Pope (Alexander IV.) sent his mandates to the abbots of Chertsey and Waltham, authorising them to "use their discretion in moderating the ordinance"; which resulted in the cost of the Crokesley commemorations being reduced to "an annual portion of ten

¹ Ordinarily the term "anniversary" in the Roman Church meant a special observance at the expiration of a year from the date of death, but in Crokesley's case a continued year by year celebration was intended.

² The value of money may be taken as about fifteen times as great as it is to-day.

marks, charged against the said manors or revenues or other estates." In this way the revenues of Hamstede and Stoke were restored to the free disposal of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, the brethren being at the same time absolved from the sentence of excommunication standing against them as infringers of the Crokesley testamentary disposition.

A.D. 1291.

In 1291 the annual value of Hampstead was assessed at £22:6:10 to the Convent. It was not then the Abbot's.

Villeinage died hard. A series of actions was brought affecting certain villeins of Hampstead in 1293. One Simon le Peynter of Reyndone, claiming to be the heir of Herbert the Palmer, his grandfather, in respect of certain houses and lands in Hampstead, stated to have been held in fee by Herbert, sued certain occupiers as well as the Abbot of Westminster, for recovery of possession. The cases were tried at the Assizes at Stony Cross before John of Berwick, William de Bereford, and other itinerant justices. The occupiers pleaded villeinage to the abbot, and the abbot himself appeared, contending that the tenants held their holdings in villeinage from him, the several messuages and lands having been given, together with the villeins, "to a certain Richard,¹ formerly Abbot of Westminster his predecessor after the death of Herbert." The result was the dismissal of all the cases and the upholding of the villeinage plea.

In the same year one John Turpin sued "Gervinus the Lynendraper" for "a messuage and forty-six acres of land, with two acres of wood, with pertinences in Hampstead," and lost his case. This was part of the subsequent manor of Belsize.

This earliest mention of Belsize (or Belseys, as it appears to have been originally called) brings us to an interesting point in the history of Hampstead, and sheds some much-needed light upon the condition of the place and neighbourhood. It is the first proof of residential distinction that the annals of Hampstead reveal, showing us that Sir Roger le Brabanzon, or Brabazon, of Museley (Moseley, in Leicestershire), Lord Chief Justice to Edward II., was possessed of the manor of Belsize in the early part of the fourteenth century. Sir Roger held a dwelling-house and forty acres free, but in the

A.D. 1317. *inq° ad quod damnum* of May 18, 1317, his holding is described as a dwelling-house, 57 acres of land and meadow, etc., besides a holding from John Fitz-Guerin of St. Giles, of 46 + 2 acres. Under date June 27, 1317, we have the record of the licence for alienation "by Roger le Brabanzon of a messuage

¹ Probably Abbot Richard de Ware.

and 57 acres of land in Hamstede to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster," on condition that they provided a chaplain to say a daily mass "for the souls of Edmund sometime Earl of Lancaster, and Blanche his wife, and for the soul of the said Roger and the souls of all Christians." The precise date at which the manor of Belsize was created, or how it came into the possession of Sir Roger le Brabazon, is unknown. It is only possible to use the word manor in a general sense in regard to Belsize, as the holder had to do suit and service to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. The place is not mentioned in Domesday Book. The bequest to the Abbot and Convent was made by the Chief Justice on his deathbed; and it appears that there was a considerable manor-house at Belsize, and that Sir Roger had resided there for some time. He was a man of singularly good repute, held in high regard for his integrity in an age when the judicial bench generally was noted for its corruption. In 1289 the charges of extortion against judicial functionaries had become so serious that almost all the judges were removed for malpractices by Edward I. and Edward II. Brabazon was made a justice of the King's Bench, and six years later succeeded Gilbert de Thornton as Lord Chief Justice, an office which he filled with dignity and honesty until 1316. It was he who presided at the trial of the monks of Westminster and others, of whom Gervase de Sancto Egidio, the first layman, was one. Brabazon died on June 13, 1317, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Next year the Abbot and Convent of Westminster assigned Belsize (and certain other land which Sir Roger had held for the life of John, son of Gervase de Sancto Egidio) to Reginald de Hadham, prior of the same convent, and his successors for ever, on condition that one chaplain should be provided for the celebration of mass for the souls of the persons named in the original demise of Sir Roger le Brabazon. The prior threw the responsibility for this service upon the "Church of St. Mary in the Fields"—perhaps meaning Hampstead Church, which was afterwards spoken of as dedicated to St. Mary or the Blessed Virgin. The estate was probably leased by the Abbots of Westminster or their assignees to a succession of tenants, of more or less importance; but we have no information that enables us to identify them. In March 1360 a prior named Nicholas de Litlington, in consideration of his benefactions to the convent (chiefly in obtaining an addition of 200 acres to its manor of Westerham, in Kent), was discharged, as also were his successors, of all rents, services, customs, etc., due to the manor of Hampstead, arising out of the manor of Belassize, appertaining A.D. 1360.

to the portion of the prior. The following year the prior was released from certain annual payments, though he still paid 29s. 6d.

When the Templars' property was confiscated it was after a time passed into the hands of the Sheriffs, for whom a certain Martin de la Rohele acted as attorney. We cannot tell whether this has any connection with the fact that on November 3, 1311, Martin de la Rohele sold for 100 marks of silver a dwelling-house, a carucate of land, and 4 acres of wood with appurtenances to Sir Roger le Brabanzon.¹ At the inquest of 1302, Sir Roger held 46 acres plus 2 acres, as already stated. It is possible that the Temple holding was Brabanzon's purchase from Rohele.

Though we have little direct evidence as to the importance of Hampstead and its inhabitants under the Normans and the Plantagenets, yet we can be sure that even from the beginning, its close, and, for that time, immemorial connection with the great Abbey Church of Westminster made it one of the most conspicuous of the suburbs of London. One proof of the outstanding position Hampstead held in men's minds is, indeed, a source of embarrassment to those who would elucidate the documentary history of the manor. The name of Hampstead seems to have been used in common parlance, and even to have found its way into legal documents, for a large number of places which were, strictly speaking, outside the manor itself, but bordered upon it.

London and Westminster were too close to each other not to have frequent quarrels in those days, and during the closing years of the reign of John, when London espoused the cause of the barons and of Louis the Dauphin of France, whom they had invited to assume the throne, while Westminster remained faithful to John during the darkest days of his reign, the two cities were drawn into actual conflict. Before these troubles, John had been forced to apply for money to the citizens of London, one of the chief of the city merchants being Constantine Fitz-Alulf, who was a very rich man, among his possessions being a holding of 45 acres of land at Hampstead. It seems not improbable that he had already had some political trouble, since on April 10, 1216, the King had granted to Geoffrey de Gurdan the lands held by Constantine in Kingsbury and Edgware, an act which had left some soreness.

A.D. 1222. However, on July 25, 1222, when John had been dead six years and Henry III. was king, certain sports took place outside the Hospital of St. James, on

¹ Return of Fines, Middlesex, 5 Ed. II. No. 71.

the feast of St. James, London contending with and worsting Westminster in some popular game. The steward of the Abbey proposed a return match, and again there was a vast crowd of spectators, but when the Londoners seemed likely to repeat their victory the Westminster men armed themselves with weapons they had concealed close by and chased the Londoners home to the city.

All London was aroused. The great alarm bell at the east end of St. Paul's was rung, which every citizen was bound to answer in arms. The leading merchants, Constantine the first among them, headed the troop and marched on Westminster with the cry, "Mont Joy! Mont Joy! God be our aid and Louis our Lord!" They pulled down the steward's house and sacked the other houses around the hospital, and then returned triumphant to London.

Next day the Abbot rode to London to complain, but was pelted with stones. But the government of England was in the hands of a strong man, Hubert de Burgh—the Hubert of Shakespeare's *King John*—aided by the unscrupulous Falkes de Bréauté. In a short time the Justiciar came to the Tower, called the leading citizens together and asked who led the crowd. Constantine replied, "I did! What do you want?" For answer he was detained with two others in the Tower, and a day or two later Falkes came secretly by the river with the troop to the Tower, took Constantine and his nephew hurriedly and without any form of trial, to the Elms at Tyburn and hanged them forthwith, heedless of Constantine's offer of a ransom of 15,000 marks of silver, a sum equivalent to over £100,000 of our money.

The trouble between the rival players seems an insufficient cause in itself for what amounted to open rebellion, and it is not unlikely that other influences may have been at work. The design of the Abbey to recover the domain of Hampstead, if any steps had been taken to that end, would arouse fierce enmity in the proud and wealthy London merchant, and may have helped to fan a smouldering fire into open flame. Constantine's fate, however, as one of the large property-holders of Hampstead would cause much stir in the village. His goods were shared out amongst the King's relations; William Longsword had all his lands for the year and a day during which they belonged to the King in consequence of his death as a felon; Peter of Poitou had his houses in the city; but by 1225 peace had been made with the King, and on April 26, Hamo, Constantine's son, was in possession of the Hampstead and other lands of his father.¹

¹ See Roger of Wendover, ii. 265; Matthew Paris, ii. 251; Besant's *Medieval London*, i. 21.

CHAPTER III

A FEUDAL VILLAGE

Free Tenants—Terms of Holdings—Mixed Rents—Hokeday—The Hall Grange—Pannage—General Feudal Conditions—The Monks and their Neighbours—Pastimes on the Heath—Valuation of 1312—Village Church in Feudal Times—A Defaulting Priest—The Black Death—The Condition of the Peasantry—The Peasants' Revolt—Jack Straw—"Jack Straw's Castle"—The Poor Preachers—New Labour Conditions—Lands on New Lettings—"Pardons."

A.D. 1312.



IN 1312, five years before Sir Roger le Brabazon's death, there were, it is recorded, five free tenants of the Hampstead manor, including the Lord Chief Justice and one Robert de Kyngeswell, foreman of the manorial jury, who still was partly in villeinage, as is attested by his being under the obligation not only of attending the court but also of providing annually for the lord "two geese and a fowl." The other free tenants were non-resident, and for the land they held they paid a total rent of £5 : 13 : 10 yearly.

From the few sparse records extant we gather that there were various customary tenants of the manor at this time, accounting for forty-five households, having between them some 289 acres and paying an aggregate rental of £4 : 3 : 0. Next to Sir Roger le Brabazon, Robert de Kyngeswell was perhaps the most prominent person in the village. His holding consisted of a dwelling-house and sixteen acres of land, for which he paid 5s. 8d. a year, in addition to the tribute already mentioned. The geese were valued at 4d. each and the other fowl at 2d. Another notable tenant was Stephen Bertram, who had fifteen acres of land and a house; he paid a rent of 20d. a year, and gave certain stated plough, harrow, and other farm service, including "work at haymaking in the lord's meadow for five days, the lord supplying the food—namely, one meal a day of bread, drink, and cheese."¹ Other tenants were

¹ *Manor and Parish Church of Hampstead*, 1906, J. Kennedy.

William Bycock, with a house and fourteen acres; Andrew Attepond, who had a house and eighteen acres, with a liability to double dues and services, similar to those of Bertram; William Wodeward, John Turgys, Thomas Martyn, Thomas Broune, John the Fowler, Roger Adam, Sarah Roisea, and Johanna, daughter of John Atteloft, Peter Roulond, Nicholas the Herd, and Galfrid Wakeman, who had a house and five acres, paid no rent in cash, but supplied one fowl at Christmas, five eggs at Easter, and paid 5d. of "medesilver"¹ at Midsummer. He was also bound to give one day's labour every week in the year; the day's work was valued at 1d. from September to March, at 1½d. from Lady Day to Midsummer, and at 2d. between Midsummer and Michaelmas. Then there were John the Miller, with a "dwelling-house that belonged to the holding of Roger Wycocks," the miller paying 2½d. a year rent, Laurence the Forester, William the Whyte, Simon of St. Pancras, Roger Prat, and others, most of them evidently men of Anglo-Saxon origin.

The aggregate yearly value of the manor of Hampstead to the Convent of Westminster must have been considerable in the fourteenth century. The non-resident free tenants, as we have seen, paid £5:13:10 annually; the customary tenants, £4:3s.; and 10d. was received for "medesilver" every Midsummer Day. Other portions of the manorial revenue, in money, kind, or labour, were 8 geese, valued at 2s. 8d., which had to be provided on August 1; 45 fowls at Christmas, worth 7s. 6d.; 112 eggs at Easter, worth about 6d.; while the labour supplied by the customary tenants equalled 297½ days, worth, at an average of rather under 1½d. a day, 35s. 6d. For tallage 20s. 2d. was received. There was the land tax levied by the Crown on its own tenants. An average sum of 3s. a year was obtained for the pigs kept by the tenants; 1d. a head was assessed for each pig over a year old, and ½d. for every porker under that age. There was Hokeday² fine, which yielded 3s. a year; while the fees and perquisites of the manor Court brought in 30s. a year. It is estimated that the cash receipts of the manor averaged some £22, and that the home farm was worth at least as much more; making a total income of, say, £45 (equivalent in present value to some £600), which, considering the comparative smallness of the manor, was a good return.

Hampstead formed a fairly characteristic example of the feudal village of

¹ Medesilver is supposed to represent a cash payment in substitution for a certain supply of the drink called "mead."

² Hokeday was a festival occurring on the Monday and Tuesday of the second week after Easter, when the coming of summer was celebrated in rollicking fashion; one day the men attacked the women, and the other day the women were the attackers. There is uncertainty as to the origin of this feast; but it was very ancient.

the fourteenth century. The parish priest resided at the Hall Grange, which also served for the periodical sittings of the Court-Baron and Court-Leet. Hither and hence the Abbot and monks of Westminster came and went at their pleasure, a hawking establishment being kept up for their amusement, while they were able to indulge in hunting from time to time in the neighbouring Bishop's Wood. It must have been a delightful retreat from the ecclesiastical duties of Westminster. There was a spacious orchard yielding bounteously; a large kitchen-garden, providing an ample supply of the few vegetables then known to England; a far-spreading green lawn for quiet



HAWKING AND HUNTING

From an old engraving.

converse or reflection, walks or rest; and all around was a scene of rare fertility and beauty. The domain lands themselves covered over 203 acres, and beyond were woods, some in common for grazing (Northwode, Notehirst, and Sheppbrighall), and others strictly reserved—Wytebirche, Brockhole, and Tymberhurst. The woods were turned to profit; in the Valuation of 1312 it is stated that “in all the aforesaid woods, together with the copses, hurdles can be made, and in ordinary years 8000 bundles of faggots [for firewood, coal not coming into use until 300 years later] can be sold, and the income from the said industry amounts to £6:10s. on an average annually.” Then there was the Heath,—“a certain heath,” it was styled—afterwards to become of so much importance, but then valued chiefly for its heather, of which it yielded 2s. worth yearly.

At some distance from the Grange was the old road or street, the one highway of the village; and scattered about were the houses of the tenants—rude structures of wattle and plaster and mud, without chimneys or windows, with floors of bare earth, and furnished with but a few rough home-made articles. As a rule, perhaps, there might be a lack of incident within the Hampstead manor; still, there were fairs and merrymakings from time to time. The “great days” were the days of the holding of the courts, which even under villeinage provided the people with a crude local self-government. The courts were constituted by tenants; a jury of freeholders was summoned for the Court-Baron, and a mixed jury, with serfs, for the Court-Leet; one court decided civil matters and the other dealt with criminal and minor offences. Moreover, the abbot of Westminster, according to the *Placita de Quo Waranto*, maintained a gallows at Hampstead, so that there were executions to witness on the Heath occasionally. There were fifteen of such gallows in all, in addition to one at Westminster, within the jurisdiction of this prelate. The other places enjoying this sinister distinction were Eid (a district of Westminster), Teddington, Knightsbridge, Greenford, Chelsea, Brentford, Paddington, Iveney, Laleham, Ecclesford, Staines, Halliford, Westbourne, and Shepperton.¹ The monks of Westminster would naturally take a good deal of interest in the villagers, their own special dependants; and they had influential neighbours, with whom they enjoyed higher social intercourse. They were doubtless free to call upon the Lord Chief Justice at Belsize, for was it not to their monastery that his lordship ultimately devised the Belsize manor? Three other religious houses had connections with the manor. The Prioress of Kilburn had a piece of land in Hampstead called Le Rudyng, which is the West End of to-day, for which she paid 13s. a year, a sum that denotes a considerable holding; the Knights Hospitallers of St. John held an estate there, perhaps including the Hampstead Temple, for which 20s. a year was paid “in lieu of all service”; and the Master of St. James’s Hospital, Westminster, held twenty-four acres of land and wood, now Chalcot, for which 40s. a year was paid, instead of service. There would be the usual interchange of courtesies between the monks and these good people and their representatives, and much necessary intercourse also between the Fathers and their immediate servants. We may suppose that Kyngeswell, their court bailiff, was frequently summoned to the Grange concerning manorial incidents. In 1319 we find him cited along with the Abbot of Westminster, William de

A.D. 1319.

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i. 407, 417, 418, 422, 425, 429; *Placita de Quo Waranto*, pp. 478, 480.

Kertlyngton, and Philip de Sutton, his fellow monk, for having entered the wood of John Buteurl, "at Lilleston and Kelibourn," and there "felled and carried away his trees, and with their cattle eat down the herbage of his wood."¹ John the Miller had to give frequent account of himself and his labours and earnings; now and then the monks themselves visiting his mill (situated on what is still known as Windmill Hill), for the mill was in ordinary years worth 33s. 4d. to the monastery; and John the Fowler, John the Wodeward, Nicholas the Herd, and Laurence the Forester were consulted as occasion required on matters connected with their respective duties.

The Heath was naturally the scene of the sports and pastimes peculiar to the period. There archery was doubtless diligently practised; for this was the age of the bow, and the law made it obligatory on men of the peasant and serving classes to devote themselves to the butts. By a proclamation of Edward III. every able-bodied citizen was required "on all holidays" to "exercise a long-bow or cross-bow, instead of wasting his time in playing at hand-ball, foot-ball, bandy, or cock-fighting"; and in the following reign a new Act required "all men-servants to practise archery on Sundays and holidays." One can imagine that the archery contests on Hampstead Heath attracted many townsfolk, as well as people from the neighbouring villages, on summer Sundays.

A.D. 1312.

The Valuation of 1312 gives us the first evidence—indirect—of there being a chapel at Hampstead. When the chapel was founded, or to whom it was dedicated, we do not know. An unnamed authority quoted by Mr. Kennedy² says that if the chapel was founded in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, it would surely be dedicated to Mary Magdalene; but "if founded before Plantagenet times, then it is pretty sure to be St. Mary the Virgin." This does not help us much, since the date of the founding remains undiscovered. The probability is that at the time of which we are writing it was called the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin; in what is supposed to be a fifteenth-century Hendon document it has this title given to it.

It is not a little strange, the close connection of Hampstead with the Church considered, that the records concerning its own particular chapel are so slight. The first direct mention of it occurs in the Patent Rolls of 1333, where it is recorded, under date of Pontefract, February 17 of that year, that Edward III. made a grant to "Stephen de Duddleeye, the King's Clerk, of

¹ Calendar Patent Rolls, 13 Edw. II., p. 465 [1319].

² *The Manor and Parish Church of Hampstead*, p. 32.

the Chapel within the manor of Hampstead, in the King's gift by reason of his custody of the lands, and heir of Gilbert de Barentyn, tenant-in-chief of the late King."

In 1316 there is an entry in the record of Feudal Aids showing that A.D. 1316. various properties belonging to the Abbey and Convent of Westminster, including those of Hampstead, were exempt from taxation; and from the Patent Rolls of the reign of Richard II., dated "at Westminster," July 7, 1382, we cull the fact that John Abbyndon, *alias* de Abbyndon, "that was *parryshprest* of *Hampstede*," had failed to appear "in the late reign" (that of Edward III.) to answer John Herman, of London, "fourbour," touching a debt of 40s., "and to render 20 quarters of oats, value 6 marks, to the Prior and Order of Friars Preachers of London." From this it would appear that John Abbyndon was a defaulter, from poverty, obstinacy, or principle; and it is quite conceivable that the order made upon him in "the late reign" was one to which he conscientiously objected. All the same, we should have preferred a fuller record of this transaction, which shows that conflicting views were held. At any rate, it was an obligation that dated back some few years, Richard II. having been already king for five years at the time of the entry. The differences with Abbyndon may have led to his having been deprived of, or resigning from, his living. The record distinctly says "that *was* parryshprest of Hampstede."

It is about this time that we first come upon the name of the le Scropes, in connection with Hampstead. Henry le Scrope laid complaint against certain persons in 1317 for felling his trees at Hendon, mowing his grass, reaping his corn, and carrying them away. Richard le Rous and Matilda his wife conveyed the united manor of Hodford and Cowhouse¹ to Henry le Scrope in the eleventh year of Edward II., 1318-19, and again three years later, in consequence, perhaps, of some irregularity in the first transaction, and in 1399 Richard le Scrope surrendered the manor to Richard II. in exchange for lands in Yorkshire, after which the King granted the estate to "St. Peter's, Westminster," for the health of his soul and the soul of Anne, his consort.²

Meagre as the items of the historic record are, they mostly relate to the Church. Thus, in 1349, when the Plague of the Black Death was raging A.D. 1349. in London, Abbot Simon de Barcheston fled from Westminster to the Hall

¹ Two farms in these one-time manors at Cricklewood, in the parish of Hendon, adjoining Hampstead, are still called by these names.

² Calendar of Fines for Middlesex, ed. Hardy and Page, vol. i.; Charter Roll, 21-23 Rich. II. m. 7.

Grange at Hampstead, to escape it ; but he died there, the Plague carrying off not only the Abbot but also twenty-six of his monks. What other people died of the epidemic at Hampstead is not stated ; but, as half the population of the country succumbed to the scourge, it is not to be supposed that the villagers were more immune than the monks.

It would be of deep interest to learn how Hampstead fared after this devastation, which so affected the relations of the labouring population of the country generally with their feudal lords that the labourers practically became masters of the situation. It is hardly to be expected that the Hampstead peasants, with the levelling lesson of the dead Abbot and monks present to them, and the knowledge that the workers of the whole country were rebelling in spirit, if not up in arms, against their hard lot, would fail in sympathy with the new ideas.



WAYFARERS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

MS. Roy. 2, B. vii.

All through the fourteenth century a gradual amelioration of the conditions of villeinage or serfdom was going on, and the Great Plague gave a wonderful impetus to the movement. The Church had lost much of its ancient power ; it was no longer the protector of the poor, and the vices and pleasures of the monks were bringing religion into contempt. "Abbots and priors ride with horses and hounds as if they were knights," wrote a contemporary satirist, "while poor men cower at the abbey-gate all day in hunger and cold." An intellectual awakening was at hand, and the prompting came from within the Church itself ; out of a failing cause there often springs new life. The priests of Wyclif, the Poor Preachers, were actively disseminating social doctrines making for emancipation of the peasantry ; while the Abbots of Westminster and other dignitaries, and their representatives in the rural

granges, continued to reap pleasure and profit from their holdings, and leisurely clung to their perquisites and privileges, seemingly blind to the revolution that was so surely proceeding. John Ball, the priest of Kent, had given voice to the aspirations of the new humanising spirit in memorable words: "Good people, things will never be well in England so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? They have leisure and fine houses: we have pain and labour, and the wind and rain in the fields. And yet it is of us and our toil that these men hold their estates."

The Black Death pressed on the solution of the whole problem. So many of the people had been swept away by the epidemic that the lords were unable to command sufficient labour for the tilling of their fields. At first

Priest with pardon.¹Beggar.²Palmer.³Hermit.⁴

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TYPES.

1, 2, 3, MS. Douce 104, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

4, Luttrell Psalter.

the landlords made desperate efforts to enforce the continuation of villeinage, and the King and Parliament supported them by the Statutes of Labourers and other enactments for compelling the peasants to prolonged bondage and the acceptance of prescribed low wages; but it was all to little use. The discontent continued; the law was alternately evaded and defied; and later, when useless wars had burdened the people with an unbearable taxation, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 forced matters to a crisis. It is more than likely A.D. 1381. that the Hampstead villeins took part in the famous march to London. The St. Albans men, in their advance to join Jack Straw at his headquarters at Highbury, might or might not pass through Hampstead. If a contingent of adherents was ready to join them at Hampstead, they probably took the village into their route, especially as it would give them particular pleasure to

make an offensive demonstration against the Knights Hospitallers, who had a temple there and were the object of bitter hatred. The attack of the mob upon the house of the Knights Hospitallers at Highbury is a well-known incident of the rising. Whether they visited Hampstead or not, they passed at no great distance from it—near enough to bring the Hampstead villeins within their influence. May it not be that the events of these few days provided the reason for the local name of Jack Straw's Castle? The mere fact of there being Hampstead sympathisers with Jack Straw who held their meetings at a certain house would be sufficient excuse to gain that house the title of Jack Straw's Castle. Sir Walter Besant thought that, although there is no direct evidence of Jack Straw being connected with the hostelry named after



JACK STRAW'S CASTLE.

From Partington's *History of London*, 1835.

him, "it is quite possible that the Heath formed a rendezvous for the malcontents of his time." In early days there had been an earthwork on the site, which might have given rise to the name "castle." Referring to this point, Professor Hales, who leans to the opinion that Jack Straw was no more than a generic appellation, and instances the fact of there being an inn called Jack Straw's Castle in a village near Oxford, says: "Jack Straw's Castle is so commanding and important that there can be little doubt there would be erected upon it some kind of earthwork or fort at a very early period. Traces of both the Neolithic and the Bronze Age man have been found on and near the Heath, and possibly enough both these races raised or held on the spot some rude fortification which subsequent times would call a 'castle.'" This being so, we have only to infer, from facts already stated, that the place

was used as a tryst for the local partisans of Jack Straw, to arrive at the origin of the name, "Jack Straw's Castle"—that is, the Castle of the Jack Strawites.¹

There was a deeper earnestness underlying the Peasants' Revolt than King or lords suspected. It was easy to kill Wat Tyler and dispose of Jack Straw; but it was impossible to kill the spirit of independence which the Poor Preachers had aroused and the revolt had strengthened. It was easy for Richard II., when the peasants petitioned him to free them and never



Drawn & etched by J. T. Smith Engraver of the antiquities of London and its environs
NEAR JACK STRAW'S CASTLE, HAMPSTEAD HEATH.

London Pub. 1807 by J. T. Smith Rembrandt Hall Old Maps Buildings & Marine Lane & J. T. Smith No 20 Prich Street, Soho.

From J. T. Smith's *Remarks on Rural Scenery*, and in all probability drawn or etched, or both, by John Constable, R.A.

again to let them be held or named as villeins, to answer that their prayer was granted. It was easy for the same King, when the fulfilment of his promise was subsequently claimed, to turn upon them with the brutal words, "Villeins you were, and villeins you are. In bondage shall you abide, and that not your old bondage, but a worse!"

It was now, however, beyond the power of kings, statesmen, lords, abbots,

¹ There was also an elevated position at Highbury, on which were some old remains of earthworks, which were called "Jack Straw's Castle" (see map in *Nelson's Islington*, 1811, and other old Islington maps).

or priors to reforge the links of feudal bondage. They had been broken for ever. Slavery no longer existed on British soil. The labourer had shown himself worthy of his hire, and now demanded his price. Wages went up 60 per cent, and those who were unable or unwilling to pay the increased rate had to till their lands themselves, or let them, or see the farms deserted.

The monks of Westminster, it seems, resorted to the letting plan, leasing to various people at the best rents they could get, with but little reservation. Their villeins were gone, as indeed was villeinage; and in the new system of tenure and control they seemed to have no set or certain place. It was more than they could now achieve to put their own house in order.

A.D. 1350. The state of affairs is succinctly described by Mr. Kennedy. "From 1350," he says, "the convent of Westminster always gives the Hampstead lands in farm. The leases are at first for short periods of five years, but presently for ten or twenty years. The earliest lease does not include the manorial dues or certain lands of the Lord Prior, but it includes everything else—the arable, the meadow, the pasture with the cattle—and it is given on something like the *métayer* system, and at a rack rent. The later leases are much more limited, but they show how completely the old system was abandoned. The manor and manorial duties are leased usually for about £14, while the rest of the land is let on a system of cash rents. It is at this point that the later rent-rolls begin. In a tattered roll of 1372, we have about sixty holdings; two or three are sometimes held by the same person, and several of the holders are ecclesiastics. The Prior of Westminster holds certain lands rent free, but he pays 29s. 2d. for the lands and tenements of Roger le Brabazon, and other lands and tenements he holds which were formerly held by William le Woodward. The Master of the Hospital of St. James, Westminster, has reduced his holding, and now only pays 10s. for a farm,¹ the Prioress of Kilburn 3s. 4d.² for the meadow called Le Rudyng."

Hampstead was not the home farm of the monastery at Westminster after 1350. From that date until the dissolution of the monasteries there is little to be gleaned of the history of Hampstead either from an ecclesiastical or from a lay point of view. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls for 1309 there is the record of a "Pardon to Wm. le Herde of Hampstede for the death of Richard, son of Walter de Burgoigne, of old Wrattinge"; and in 1347 another "Pardon" is entered to "Robert Henry, *clerc*, of Hampstede, of the County of M'sex, for the death of Richard le Lord of Hampstede, son

¹ For which, in 1312, 40s. was paid.

² Formerly 13s.

of John le Lord of Hampstede, on a like record of Richard de Wylughby and his fellows, justices appointed to deliver the King's gaol at Westminster."

It will be convenient at this point to bring up to date the three Hampstead holdings of the Prioress of Kilburn, the Hospital of St. James, and of the Temple, now transferred to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. We have already alluded to the foundation of the Priory about 1130 by the Abbot of Westminster. There had been a considerable amount of property granted by the Abbey, but none to all appearance in Hampstead until January 20, 1244, when Margarita bought for 25s. sterling from Robert Fitz-Nicholas a plot of 14 acres of land and an annual rent of 1s. 6d. with the appurtenances in Hampstead. The fine was completed after an assize of *mort d'ancestor* was taken. In November 1312 the rent of this Hampstead holding was 13s. per annum, and at its resignation on the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536 the rent was 13s. 4d., though it had just been leased to a certain William Wyldes for forty years at a rent of 30s. It then contained 18 acres by estimation. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* puts down the annual return from the West End as 40s.

The history of the Hospital of St. James is a long and interesting one, and its connection with Hampstead is rather puzzling. As has already been said, a hide of land in Hampstead had been given to the hospital by Alexander de Barentyn some time before 1204, and this grant was confirmed in 1242 with privileges which erected it into a manor. In May 1258 an amicable lawsuit between the Warden of the Hospital and Richard de Ware, Abbot of Westminster, resulted in the settlement on the hospital of 1 messuage, a carucate of land, 40 acres of wood and appurtenances, the hospital paying an annual rent of 40s., and giving the consideration of a goshawk for the fine. In this connection there is record of a dower acquisition of 1275, dealing with the prayer of Lucia the widow of Henry de Belgrave. She claimed from the Master of the Temple her thirds in a messuage and 20 acres of land in Hampstead, but judgment went against her, it being found that her husband had never possessed the property in fee. In 1342, however, we find on the visitation of the hospital that the property has shrunk to 80 acres of land and wood in Hendon, Caldicote, and Hampstead, still paying 40s., and, as Mr. Kennedy explains, by November 1312 the holding had shrunk to 24 acres. The wardenship of the hospital was granted to Eton in 1449, and in 1531 an exchange was negotiated between Eton and Henry VIII., by which the manors of Chalcot and of Wyldes were confirmed to Eton. The manor of Chalcot now lies between Belsize and Marylebone, and extends to

some 226 acres. We have found deeds showing the acquisition in 1259 and 1273 of 12 and 36 acres of land in Hendon.

The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem finally succeeded to such of the Temple lands as had not been disposed of during the interim, after the arrest of the Templars. We may be sure that the Abbot of Westminster did not neglect the opportunity to try and enlarge his domain; in fact we have evidence of it in the before-mentioned action against the Abbot of Westminster and Robert de Kyngeswell for felling and carrying away trees in the wood at Lilleston and Kilburn. In 1334 an inquest was ordered to be made to ascertain what property the Prior of St. John held at Michaelmas 1327, and it was found that he held the manor of Lilleston together with 55 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow in Hendon and Finchley; and 100 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow in Hampstead, all of which had formerly belonged to the Templars, and that the manor and lands were then held by William Langford. The jury at the same time took the opportunity to bring to the King's notice a fact which has some topographical value for us as showing the exact limits of the manor of Lilleston at that time. Kilburn brook up till 1860 ran parallel with the Edgware Road, and quite close to it for a little over half a mile (160 perches). The jury presented the Prior of St. John's for allowing 100 perches of the brook in Hampstead, and 60 perches of the brook in Lilleston to be "blocked up with mud and earth, so that in rainy weather the King's highway between Edgware and London is so broken up and swamped that men cannot pass there with their horses and carts, to the great detriment of the country." It seems then that the manor of Lisson has shrunk considerably since that time. It is believed that the Hampstead holding of St. John's is in great part identical with the present manor of Shoot-up, as is shown in the lease in 1521 from the Hospitallers to John Barne in Hampstead and the subsequent sale of the same land to Sir Roger Cholmely.

There were few difficulties in the way of creating manors in those days. Before the beginning of the reign of Edward I. any one possessed of a freehold estate of inheritance could convert his property into a manor, with the usual courts and privileges, by granting portions to others, to be held in fee subject to military service.¹ In this way sub-infeudation became common, and manors were multiplied all over the country. The evil grew to such an extent that the practice had to be prohibited, and at the present time no claim of manorial rights that has not existed from the year 1290 is admitted, unless a specific Royal charter can be shown.

¹ Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ii.

CHAPTER IV

HAMPSTEAD IN TUDOR TIMES

Better Days—War Times—Lord Scrope—His Downfall—Wolsey's Subsidy—Henry VIII.—At the Dissolution of Monasteries—Bishop Thirlby—Valuation of 1542—Valuation of 1549—Eton College—Preservation of Game—A Prediction—Flocking to Hampstead—A Fateful Day—Hampstead becomes a Separate Parish—Sir Thomas Wroth—Martin Frobisher—A Suppliant Wife—More Wroths—Sir Baptist Hickes—Chalcot—Wylde—Alehouses—Offenders—Murder—The "Tyburn T"—Ben Jonson's Duel—First Water Bill—An Unrealised Scheme—Fleet Ditch—Springs—Tybourne—Westbourne—Hole Bourne.



RESUMABLY in their new independence the people of Hampstead shared the general prosperity enjoyed by the agricultural class during the fifteenth century. Many fresh attempts were made to revive the old conditions and enforce the old ways; but to little purpose. There were now many more people of the wage-earning class in Hampstead than in former times; direct monastic rule had almost passed away. The villeins with their holdings on the rent-suit-and-service

system were gradually becoming copyholders or tenant farmers who had little or no obligation beyond that of paying a not too burdensome rent.¹ As for the labourers, it was their golden age. Before the Black Death a labourer did not receive more than £2:7:10 a year for the services of himself and wife and child; after the Plague he received £3:15s. for the same services. Besides, rents were low and food was cheap. Winter was the worst time of the year for the Hampstead farmers, for then they had to live mainly on salted meat; there were no winter roots to help them out; no potatoes, no carrots, and few winter greens of any kind, while stock was kept only in very small numbers.

It was a time of foreign wars and civil conflict, of great battles and small

¹ The obligations of suit and service to the manor existed long after the Reformation, though they became less burdensome as the fixed money charges for which they were commuted lessened in value owing to the rise in prices and depreciation of money.

insurrections. Henry V.'s brilliant victories over the French, the less successful campaigns of Henry VI., and the Wars of the Roses were among the events of the fifteenth century ; but we have no record of any direct connection between these doings and Hampstead. It can hardly be that none existed ; yet if any notable person had been in such connection, it would probably have been known. Probably there were men of Hampstead among the archers and bowmen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and tales of Crécy and Poitiers and Agincourt and Calais would be told at Hampstead ingle-nooks by local survivors of those famous battles. A few fugitives from the battles of St. Albans and Barnet might bring Hampstead in touch with the expiring Wars of the Roses. Still, these affairs had no special effect upon the life of the village.

A.D. 1404.

In 1404 Henry IV. made a grant of Hendon and Hampstead during pleasure to William, Lord of Willughby, not by way of ownership, but giving "exclusive supply of harbourage" ; and after his death, in 1410, the same privilege was extended to Sir Henry le Scrope (afterwards Lord Scrope of Masham), Treasurer of the Exchequer, conferring the right of lodging and entertainment for his retinue, horses, etc., during his attendance upon the King in Parliament and Council, "so that the harbinger¹ of the King's household should not make over the said villages, or either of them, to any other person ; nor any of the purveyors lay hands on the corn, hay, horses, carts, carriages, and other necessities therein, during the said Henry le Scrope's abiding at London or Westminster ; provided that for whatsoever of such necessities as should be taken by Sir Henry or his men, they should render such satisfaction as was just." This grant was confirmed the next year. Although the Abbot and monks of Westminster were still owners of these manors, it does not appear that their consent was necessary for the grants to Sir Henry Scrope ; but, after all, it was only a privilege of quartering or lodgment (no very serious matter in those days), for which due payment had to be made. Many favours besides a peerage were conferred upon Sir Henry by both Henry IV. and Henry V. Henry V. held the knight in such esteem that he was frequently the room companion of the King while his Majesty slept. This favour, however, was not long-lived. In 1415 Lord Scrope was convicted of having accepted a large bribe from the French in connection with a treaty of peace he had been sent to France to arrange, and suffered death for his treachery. It is not stated that this Lord Scrope possessed or held any

¹ The harbinger was the herald who went forth one stage in advance of the King when his Majesty was going on a royal progress, his duty being to provide all necessary accommodation for King and Court.

property in Hampstead ; but in the Calendar of State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. there is the record of a grant, in 1542, after the dissolution of the monasteries, of certain "lands called Hoddesforde and Cowhouse in Hendon and Hampstede, M'sex, formerly belonging to Richard, Lord Scrope, of Bolton," to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, "formerly belonging to St. Peter's, Westminster."

The history of these lands is a somewhat involved one. Cowhouse and Hoddesford (or Hodford)¹ lie at the extreme south of the manor of Hendon bordering on Hampstead, and in the early days of monastic rule may have been part of Hampstead itself, but by the time of Gilbert le Rous they were definitely recognised as part of Hendon. At the end of the century they were in the possession of a certain Henry de Wilemundele and Mabel his wife, who granted them to Emma, wife of Nicholas de Insula. On October 14, 1295, Emma transferred them to the King, who granted them to Walter the Abbot, and the Convent of Westminster, as part of a grant of land of the annual value of £200, for prayers for the soul of Eleanor, his wife. The form of the grant would probably be held as erecting this estate into a manor. Next year these lands, defined hitherto as in the vill of Hendon, were described as Hoddesford in an exemption from prises of corn ; and in an inquisition taken a few years later, in 1312, the manor of Hoddesford is treated as a member of the manor of Hendon ; being held of Richard le Rous as of that manor at a service of 4s. per annum, 4 quarters of wheat, 8 quarters of barley, and attendance at court every three weeks. The whole manor was worth £7 : 1 : 8 annually.

This inquisition was taken in view of a projected exchange. It will be remembered that the chief manor of Hendon belonged to Westminster Abbey and had been granted away in perpetuity in Stephen's reign, the attempt to recover it in 1226 proving fruitless. What pressure Abbot Richard of Sudbury was able to apply we know not, but he succeeded in inducing Richard le Rous, the then holder of Hendon, to exchange it for the manor of Hoddesford. Perhaps the obligations were becoming too heavy for the holder, or it may be that spiritual inducements had their part in the exchange. The inquisition recites the obligations of the holder of Hendon, and estimates its annual value at £56 : 9 : 4.

The le Rous family were evidently on the decline, and another family was rising into importance in the vill—the Scropes. Allusion has already been made to their transactions in the earlier part of the fourteenth century in connection with Hoddesford and Cowhouse.

¹ See *ante*, p. 39.

A.D. 1410.

The grant of 1410 to Sir Henry le Scrope is not the first on the rolls by any means. The King seems to have acquired a right of prisage,—that is, of taking provisions at a price fixed by himself, very similar to the purveyance which was one of the chief grievances against the earlier Stuart monarchs,—from which the Westminster properties were in the main exempt. In 1404 the lands of Hendon and Hampstead were assigned during pleasure to William, Lord of Willughby (who died in 1409), for his livery during service at court. Obviously, this was not a grant of the land, but only of the King's rights of prisage and lodging. The grants of 1410 and 1411 to Sir Henry le Scrope only permitted him to take things, paying for what he took, and we have some traces of an attempt by the Abbot of Westminster to resist even this encroachment on his rights. It must be remembered that though in the deeds the lands are described as formally belonging to Richard le Scrope, yet the Abbot of Westminster was always the over-lord.

A reference to the church occurs in the will of William Hunt, butcher, dated April 15, 1438, the testator making certain bequests to "the parish churches of Chidyngfold and Hampstede," and that this is our Hampstead is made clear by the concurrent devise to the testator's wife of "certain" of his lands and tenements in "Kylbourne & elsewhere in the county of Middlesex."¹ Excepting the indirect evidence of the Valuation of 1312,² the above is the earliest reference hitherto discovered to a Hampstead parish church. Park's earliest mention is of "the chapelry at Hampstead" under date of 1461; but the specific term "parish church" in the will above quoted from, seems to point to something more than a mere chapelry.

It was of sufficient importance to have its good offices sought even by people outside its own parish. Thus Richard Cloudesley of Clerkenwell included it in the churches to each of which he bequeathed by will, in 1517, "two torches, price 14s., and to two men of the same parishes two gowns, price the piece 6s. 8d." Further, the parish priest of Hampstead benefited twenty pence "to the intent" that he prayed for the testator "by name openly" in the church every Sunday, and also prayed the parishioners to pray for him, for which service the good Cloudesley "forgave" not only the priests, but all the world.³

Another Hampstead reference of a still earlier period occurs in the will of
A.D. 1441. one John Ingram, a fishmonger, dated October 5, 1441, who devises "To Ella his wife his lands and tenements in the vills of Hampstede, Eades," etc.⁴

¹ Calendar of Wills, Court of Husting, London, vol. xi.

² See *ante*, p. 38.

³ *History of Clerkenwell*, W. J. Pinks, second edition.

⁴ Calendar of Wills, Court of Husting, London, vol. xi.

In 1524 Hampstead became for a brief spell a place of refuge for many Londoners. A great calamity had been predicted. London was about to be overwhelmed by an inundation, and the people who remained in the city were to perish. That was what the soothsayers declared, unitedly and specifically. The waters of the Thames were to rise and carry away ten thousand houses and all who dwelt therein. So firmly was this prophecy believed, that by the middle of January all the vacant spaces around Hampstead and Highgate became dotted with huts in which affrighted families were taking sanctuary. Not only the poorer classes, but people of rank, flocked to the heights. At Harrow the Prior of St. Bartholomew's erected a fortress, which he stocked with provisions for two months. The Court retired to Windsor.

It was regarded as a wonderful thing that the prophets and prophetesses were all agreed both as to the nature of the coming catastrophe and as to the day of its occurrence; perhaps there is safety in numbers in matters of this kind, as in other affairs. Anyhow, for once the prognosticators ventured out from the narrow field of individual prediction and made bold to utter words of warning to the people at large. Mother Shipton had set the example. She had foretold that a time would come when Hampstead and Highgate would be in the middle of London, and had indulged in many other predictions, the dates of fulfilment of which were placed sufficiently far into the future to prevent any possibility of her being brought to account for them. She had, however, gained much fame, and doubtless added considerably to her private practice by this discreet method of lifting the veil of the future. Acting on similar lines, but, unfortunately, not fixing the date of realisation at a sufficiently safe distance ahead, these later dabblers in futurity had rashly announced that February 1, 1524, would see the capital devastated by deluge.

On the morning of that day people left their huts on the Hampstead hills and went forth from their coigns of safety to watch the onrush of the flood. How they rejoiced that they had not remained in the valley to be drowned! They formed an excited crowd, as with breathless eagerness they looked forth across the unimpeded expanse of country that then stretched between London and Hampstead; and they saw—what? The Thames tide just flowing in its ordinary course—and no more. With the gloom that naturally settles upon the faces of such as perceive that they have been deluded, they continued to watch for a while, and then in bitterness of heart denounced the false prophets, who by this time had privily dispersed. The

tent-folk and the hut-dwellers of the Hampstead heights, and the Prior in his tower of refuge at Harrow, returned to their city homes, and the hilly landscape resumed its native peacefulness. In due course the soothsayers were ready with plausible excuses for the miscarriage of their prediction, corrected the date to a hundred years forward, and won the people back to their old belief in supernatural powers.

A.D. 1525.

In 1525 the inhabitants of Hampstead were assessed for their portion of the subsidy which Wolsey had imposed upon the country in order to replenish his treasury. The Commissioners for Middlesex were John Kyston, Roger Cholmeley (afterwards Sir Roger Cholmeley, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and later Lord Chief Justice and founder of the Highgate Grammar School), and Richard Hawke; and they assessed Hampstead at £3:0:2, making Nicholas Serle collector.

There were thirty-five persons chargeable within the parish of Hampstead, and it will be interesting and informing to give their names, with the amounts at which they were respectively rated for lands, goods, or wages :

George Baley, payment to John Walton for his goods	.	.	£20	0	0
Joseph Carillon, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	8	0	0
Robert Cotes	„	„	3	0	0
Philip Dennett	„	„	3	0	0
Thomas Greene	„	„	15	7	6
Adam Hopgood	„	„	10	0	0
George Hopper, payment to John Walton for his goods	.	.	24	0	0
John Horton, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	4	0	0
William Hurry	„	„	20	0	0
John Hynds	„	„	8	0	0
Thomas Jay	„	„	15	0	0
John Jetson	.	.	12	0	0
Thomas Johnson, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	10	0	0
George Kempe	„	„	10	0	0
William Kempe	„	„	15	7	6
John Kinney	„	„	10	0	0
William Liddell	„	„	8	0	0
John Lyons	„	„	3	0	0
Robert Lyons, payment to William Kempe for his goods	.	.	15	0	0
Thomas Munns	„	„	25	0	0
John Naylor, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	3	0	0
Henry Orme	„	„	10	0	0
William Orton, payment to John Walton for his goods	.	.	20	0	0
John Pollett, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	8	0	0
Philip Rose, payment to John Walton for his goods	.	.	15	0	0
John Simpson, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	10	0	0
John Smyth	„	„	4	0	0
John Speyght	„	„	10	0	0

William Spriggs, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	.	£4	0	0
William Stilman	„	„	.	10	0	0
Thomas Syme, payment to William Kempe for his goods	.	.	.	20	0	0
Thomas Taylor, payment to My Lady of Kilborn	.	.	.	27	0	0
John Walton, for his goods (valued at)	.	.	.	10	6	6
Robert West	„	„	.	10	6	6
John Valentyne, payment to William Kempe for his goods.	.	.	.	26	7	6

This is a fairly substantial showing for the period, representing a total value of over £400, the equivalent of £4000 of present money, which, apportioned among thirty-five people, gives an average of £12 a man, or £120 in twentieth-century equivalents. It is worth while noting that over one-third of the persons named bore the Christian name John.

Henry VIII. was still a popular monarch, despite his extravagance, his fitful amours, and his arrogant divorces. The great national severance from Rome was being gradually brought about by the force of events. Ten years later—in 1535—the separation from Papal domination was completed; Hampstead, A.D. 1535. as the nominal appanage of the Abbey of Westminster, was involved in the dissolution of the monasteries, and all semblance of monkish lordship vanished.

Long before the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536-39, Hampstead had been practically freed from the sway of the monks of Westminster; thus the suppression had no direct effect upon the people of the village. As a matter of fact, for the best part of a century before the dissolution the manor of Hampstead had been leased by the convent of Westminster to the Knights Hospitallers, who in turn sub-leased the greater part of the holding.

It was in January 1540 that Abbot Benson of Westminster and his seventeen monks resigned their power and possessions into the hands of the King; and Henry no doubt imagined that in making Westminster a bishopric he was doing honour to the historic fane and helping to solidify Protestantism; but he was unfortunate in the ecclesiastic he appointed to the new dignity—Dr. Thirlby.

As far as Hampstead was concerned, the transition from one order of Church supremacy to another did not make much difference. Instead of the Abbots as nominal lords of the manor, or their assignees the Knights Hospitallers, the villagers had simply to accept the Protestant bishop who succeeded at Westminster, upon whom were settled some of the manors which had been owned by the dissolved abbey. The new diocese comprised the whole of the county of Middlesex. Whatever may have been the general improvement brought about in ecclesiastical affairs by the suppression and

supersession, the appointment of Bishop Thirlby, who was consecrated in 1540, does not seem to have added to the honour or renown of Westminster. So freely did he dispose of the manors and lands which had been settled upon the bishopric that, according to Collier, at the end of nine years "there was scarcely anything left to maintain the post of a Bishop," and no further Bishop of Westminster was appointed. There is the record of the grant made to the bishop in 1541 of the "lordships and manors of Hendon, Hampstede"; with a reservation of "the messuage called Belsays, and the lands," etc., called Hodford and Cowes (Cowhouse) in Hampstede and Hendon, Middlesex.¹ Notwithstanding his extravagance, Thirlby continued to enjoy the favour of the King, and, in a time-serving way, was useful in promoting the reformed religion. During his occupancy of the see of Westminster, certain valuations and accounts (including those of Hampstead) were compiled and published; but they disclose no personal link between the Bishop himself and the outlying manor of Hampstead. Still, the dissolution, which rendered a valuation of the monastery lands necessary, is of interest to us, as are the incidents of

A.D. 1542. the further valuation of 1542, and the more elaborate account of 1549, the year before Bishop Thirlby's translation to the bishopric of Norwich.²

The first of these valuations, made at the dissolution, gives the "Manor of Hampstead, with the church or chapel thereto annexed," as "worth in rents of assize of free and customary tenants there £10:2:7, beyond 20s. of the rent of the late Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, now in the King's hands"; while the "farm of the manor, with the lands, meadows, feedings, and pastures, etc., to the same manor belonging (except rents of tenants there, wards, marriages, woods, outlawries, perquisites of court, and other things to royalty belonging) leased to St. John of Jerusalem by indenture," were set down at £15 a year. "The farm of the church or chapel there"—that is, the living—was valued at 60s. 8d. Among the few additional sources of revenue figured "perquisites of court," which averaged £4:6:6, and "sale of wood," 20s. Against this there was set as "reprises" the "fee of the bailiff, with the robe of the farmer, 26s. 8d.," the farmer presumably officiating as assistant on court days. The whole of the various items showed a gross rental of £33:9:9; net, £32:3:1.

¹ Calendar of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., vol. xvi.

² Bishop Thirlby does not appear to have been very firm in his Protestantism. In Mary's reign, when he was Bishop of Ely, he was one of a splendid embassy sent to Rome to implore forgiveness to the English nation for the sin of defection under Henry VIII. Later, on the accession of Elizabeth, he was one of the few prelates who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy; he was degraded, and afterwards kept a prisoner at Lambeth, where he died in 1570.

By the valuation of 1542 the manor of Hampstead, "with the chapel there annexed," is put down as yielding "clear" the annual sum of £30:5:3 $\frac{1}{4}$, a slightly less amount than was given at the preceding valuation. The account of 1549 refers especially to the "church or chapel" of Hampstead, but also enables us to catch a side glimpse of the condition of things in the village generally at that period. "The Bishope of Westmnr," we read, was "Parson," and the benefice was "by yere £10, which he giveth to sarve the cure"—that is, to a resident curate. Who the Bishop's Hampstead representative was at the date of this valuation is not recorded; but from the list of vicars or curates given in Mr. Kennedy's book, already referred to, we gather that in 1545 Thomas Chapelyne held the living, and that in 1546 it was held by Richard Gardener, their deaths occurring in the respective years named. We are further informed that there was "of howseling people (communicants) within the said parische the number of 147," which is the first population record of Hampstead we possess. It also appears that "one Slavyng" was "bounde to fynde a light upon the high Altar in the Church ther according to composysyon made between the Master and Brethren of the College of Ettyn and the said Slavyng expending for the same yerely, 20s. 4d." This is one of the slight early links between Eton College and Hampstead. There was also mentioned a curious bequest whereby "George Kempe accordyng to Margaret Kempes will, his mother, in consideration of eleven Beests by her to hym bequethed and geven shulde dystribute euery goode fridday to the pore 6s. 8d. in brede, 5d. to the priest of the parische, 13d. to the porest householders, 22d. for an obite in thole." It is also set forth that "Edward Wesley gave unto the said Church for an obite 6s. 8d., whereof to the priest and clerke 6d., and to the pore 6s. 2d., whiche somme was delyud unto the Churchwardens by Maister Lynton."

The Monastery of the Holy Cross at Waltham owned lands in Hampstead in the sixteenth century, but disposed of them prior to 1543, a grant of that year referring to property abutting "upon Canewoodde . . . on the north," and "upon Hampstede Heth on the west," specifying certain adjoining lands as "having belonged to the monastery."¹

Hampstead was evidently peopled in those days by a small God-fearing, church-going community, nearly all employed in agriculture; prosperous according to the rural standard of the time, but still living in a surrounding of forest land, of which they had only the partial freedom. The King, although getting into years and debarred from physical activity by his obesity, still

¹ Calendar of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., vol. xviii.

reserved all these woodlands and the game therein for his own pleasure. Only six months before his death he issued a proclamation on the subject. The document is worth quoting for its touches of local geography no less than for its revelation as to the game that then stocked the woods. The proclamation bears date July 1545,¹ and contains these words :

Forasmuch as the King's most Royall Matie is much desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, phesaunt, and heron p'served in and about his honour att his palace of Westm' for his owne disport and pastime ; that is to saye, from his said place of Westm' to *St. Gyles in the Fields*, and from thence to Islington to o' *Lady of the Oke*, to *Highgate*, to *Hornsey Parke*, to *Hamsted Heath*, and from thence to his said palace of Westm' to be preserved and



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Barclay, *Fifth Eclog*, 1509.

kept for his owne disport, pleasure, and recreac'on; his highnes therefore straightlie chargeth and commandeth, all and singuler, his subjects, of what estate, degree, condic'on, so'ev they be, that they ne any of them, doe p'sume or attempt to hunt, or hawke, or in any meanes to take or kill any of the said games, within the precinctes aforesaid, as they tender his favor, and will estchue the ymprisonment of their bodies and *further punishmt at his mats will and pleasure*.

Hampstead was now emerging into fuller light in the rapid changes that were taking place in the general social conditions of the country. Londoners began to frequent it more, and the connection between it and the city became closer. A colony of London laundresses settled there, and it is said that the

¹ Steele's *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, vol. i. No. 277.

washing for the Royal household was done in the pure water of the Hampstead brooks. The windmills on Hampstead Hill were to be seen from the valley on the south, and doubtless were an influence in attracting people to the Heath.

The road difficulty continued. It was not so much a matter of wild beasts and outlaws now as of want of repair. The abbots and monks were no longer interested in keeping the highways in good condition, and local authorities were practically powerless. The seriousness of the drawback is shown in the fact that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries afford numerous evidences of money having been left by will for road reparation. One John Burton of Hampstead in 1532 bequeathed 33s. 6d. for this purpose; another Hampstead resident, John Blenerhasset, directed that his house there should be sold and the proceeds spent on the highways between Hampstead and St. Giles in the Fields.¹ The Sessions Rolls of the period disclose many actions to enforce repairs of the highways.

Hampstead was now a separate parochial entity. Formerly it may have been part of the parish of Hendon, although that is doubtful. It had acknowledged the more or less shadowy figure of an ecclesiastic as lord of the manor; but now Edward VI., to whom the manors of Hampstead had been resigned by the Bishop March 3, 1550, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster April 2, 1550, bestowed the chief of them in the same month upon a distinguished layman, and thenceforward the lords of the manor of Hampstead were personages of some note in the world.

The first of these was Sir Thomas Wroth, Knt., "a gentleman of the west," as Strype calls him, and "one of those that received the largest share of benefits from the King, for he not only knighted him, but heaped great wealth, honours, offices, and possessions on him."

The patent granted to Sir Thomas forms part of a roll containing entries for the fourth year of Edward VI., although the year is not mentioned in the patent itself. The entry is summarised as follows:

Rex ix. die Aprilis concessit Sir Thome Wrothe manoria de Northall Downe barnes et Hampstede cum pertinentibus in comite Middlesex ac diversa alia ibidem sibi et heredibus suis.

Some years earlier than this (1541), Sir Thomas Wroth had been granted the neighbouring manor and grange of Highbury, "late in tenure of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, attainted of high treason and heresy."² According

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 10th s. vol. xiii. p. 464, communicated by F. Hitchin-Kemp.

² *Calendar of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xvi.

to a reference in the Harleian MSS.,¹ the Wroths had a distinguished ancestry, for there we read that they were descended from Wroth a nobleman who lived in the time of King Edgar, and that the great-grandson of this nobleman, another Thomas Wroth, was "chaplain to St. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury." John Wroth, a nephew of this chaplain, it is further related, went to Ireland, where he remained with Theobald Fitz-Walter, nephew to Becket; and subsequently collateral descendants of John Wroth settled in Middlesex. How much of fact there is in this story, or whether it is only to be regarded as a sample of the pedigree-making of the period, it is difficult to determine. According to an old Book of Crests,² "Wrothe of Enfyld beryth to his creste a lions hede rased sable crowned gold and red langued geules standing betwene two wynges bende of iiij peces silver and sable in a wreth and asur." The Hampstead Sir Thomas Wroth, however, would seem to have made his way by talent and favour. His father was an attorney who took a keen interest in the politics of the day, and represented Middlesex in Parliament for six years. After the father's death the son, who had been placed under the guardianship of Lord Rich, and later married one of his guardian's daughters, rapidly came into prominence. He became Gentleman of the Chamber to Prince Edward in 1545, received knighthood in 1547, and on the Prince coming to the throne in that year was taken into the inner circle of the royal favourites. His Majesty is said to have died in Sir Thomas's arms.

It has been stated that Sir Thomas Wroth's Hampstead possessions included North Hall Manor. This would convey the impression that the courtier occasionally resided at Hampstead; but the idea gains little support from the other known facts of Sir Thomas's history. Hampstead formed but a small item in the rich aggregate of his possessions. The knight's chief residence was at Durants in Enfield, which locality was chosen possibly because of its associations with royalty, the children of Henry VIII. having been educated there. It was while at Enfield that Prince Edward heard of his father's death, and the young King settled the chief manor of Enfield on his sister Elizabeth, intending to build a palace for her there. During the brief reign of Edward VI. Hampstead's manorial lord lived an active and distinguished career. We have it on the authority of Hakluyt that he took part in a merchandising voyage "to Barbary in the yeere 1552," thus being a pioneer in the great work of "merchant adventuring" which was taken up

¹ Harleian MSS. 2218, f. 236.

² Wall's MS. Book of Crests. Reprinted in *The Ancestor*, vol. xii. p. 80.

in the reign of Elizabeth, a few years later, with so much success. He was too good a Protestant, however, to be *persona grata* to Mary, and during her five years of persecution of the Protestants wisely remained abroad at Strasburg, although, out of consideration for his "great learning, extraordinary worth and goodness" (to use the words of Strype), he was suffered to retain his estates. Referring to this fact, Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says: "It is observable that he who went away for his conscience, hath alone, of all this catalogue (of Middlesex gentry), his name remaining in the county." On the accession of Elizabeth he was recalled, and did the State some further service. He died at Durants in 1573.

Besides its own peculiar trials at the time of the Reformation accompanying a change of landlords, Hampstead seems to have suffered to some extent, in common with the whole of the country, from the evils of depopulation. More, in his metaphorical way, says in his *Utopia*, written in 1517, "The sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities." The growth in the price of wool induced many lords of the manor and others to enclose the open fields which were the support of the village and turn them into pasture for sheep. Acts of Parliament were passed in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. against this evil, ordering that any land which had been changed from arable to pasture should be broken up forthwith, and that any houses which had fallen into decay should be rebuilt.

But Acts of Parliament were powerless to stop an economic revolution. Under Edward VI. a fresh attempt was made to enforce the law, but the proclamation issued for the purpose by Protector Somerset merely accelerated his fall and was the signal for an insurrection of the poorer classes throughout the country. After the accession and marriage of Mary she made a bid for popularity by a renewed Act of Parliament "for the Re-edifying of decayed Houses of Husbandrie and for th' increase of Tillage."¹ By this Act commissioners were appointed in each county who were instructed to summon a jury in each district and by a sworn inquest to discover what lands had been enclosed since St. George's Day in the twentieth year of Henry VIII., and what houses had been allowed to fall into decay. The commissioners had power to force offenders to enter into recognisances to amend their defaults

¹ 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary, cap. 2, 1555.

under a heavy penalty, or even to plough the lands and rebuild the houses at the offenders' expense.

The returns of the inquest for Hampstead and its neighbourhood have fortunately been preserved to us. Most of the complaints refer to the wholesale, wasteful destruction of timber which deprived the poorer inhabitants especially of their winter fuel, and the lessee of Chalcot and Wyldes was evidently a chief offender. John Slannyng¹ of Hampstead, gentleman, had cut down 20 acres of wood "in a wood called Cayne Wood," and had turned his "horses, mares, and cattle" on to it, to the destruction of the saplings. He had also cut down 14 acres of wood two years before "in a wood called Wyldes Wood," and had put his cattle in; and in the year of the inquiry had cut down 20 acres more, leaving nothing but young saplings besides 6 acres of wood "in a wood called Chawcotes." Slannyng was further presented for "keeping 140 acres in Hampstead, and the farm of Chawcotes containing 120 acres more, in pasture instead of tillage," the inquest going on to state that he let the land "to butchers and inn-holders of London."

The timber cut down could not be replaced even though since 1556 there has been time for the young saplings to re-form Ken Wood and to decay in their turn; but we may be sure that, after the inquest the "butchers and inn-holders of London" had to find fresh quarters for their stock, and that Mr. Slannyng was called upon to restore to the small copyholders he had dispossessed the lands he had wrongfully enclosed.

There was a still more serious complaint against Sir Thomas Wroth, "knt., the Lord of Hamsted," for that he had "sowlde the woodes growing upon the common of Hampsted without the good will and consent of the tenanntes, conteyning by estimacion xl acres," whereas "ther shuld have byn cutt downe but the fowrth parte for the first yere, and the same to be enclosed." The presentment concluded by proclaiming, "and nowe he hathe sowlde the whole wood and the most parte thereof felled this yere." It should be added that in 1556 Sir Thomas Wroth was in exile at Strasburg; the offences above mentioned were therefore due to the acts of his representatives, not of himself, though possibly at his suggestion or at all events with his sanction.

In fact, the chief landholders up to this time seem to have done pretty much as they pleased with the heath and woodlands in and around Hampstead,

¹ This would be the Slannyng or Slavyng who, as previously mentioned, was required to provide a light for the high altar of Hampstead church on behalf of Eton College.

which will account for the great diminution in the extent of the common lands in the sixteenth century and earlier. It was only when the landholders grew jealous of each other's encroachments and fell out among themselves that the questions of the rights of the public were forced into notice.

Other delinquents of this period were "Richard Reynes, gentleman, John Jeymes and John Yerdley," who were charged with having "felled and cutt downe this yere in the foresayd common wood 111 acres, parcell of the same common wood, and have not left eny olde Storyars, wheras of every acre they shulde have left XII of the oldest and fayrest lyke to prove tymbre." Humfray Crosse of Kilburn was "presented" for cutting down 111 acres of wood and leaving no standards "in a wood called Florers Wood." This kind of wanton destruction and interference with the common privileges of the public must have been going on for a long time back, and it was high time that the law stepped in and arrested further despoilment.

On September 16, 1557, one Heyns, steward of Cardinal Pole's household, was buried at Hampstead with some pomp, the items of the funeral including two dozen escutcheons, twelve torches, two white branches, and four great tapers, and "a grett denier."¹

About this time one of England's naval heroes, Martin Frobisher, was, in the brief intervals of his home-stayings, a resident of Hampstead; at which information we arrive in a rather curious way. The bluff Yorkshireman, with characteristic daring, had taken to wife an aged lady, the widow of a wealthy man, Thomas Riggatt of Snaith, near Goole, not far from the Admiral's native village. This was shortly after his return from the voyage in quest of a north-west passage to Cathay in 1576, with his "strange man of Cathay" and the famous "black earth" that was supposed to be a sample lump of gold ore. Having been "called to the Court," and "greatly embraced and liked of the best," he was a person of consequence. When he went down to Yorkshire to visit his relations and friends, and revive old associations, he in his reckless way proposed for the hand of the Widow Riggatt, and was accepted. He was about forty. What the bride's age was is not stated; but she had "children and grandchildren." The couple came to London, and the Admiral seems to have taken a place at Hampstead. At all events, it was at Hampstead that Mrs. Frobisher was residing while her husband was away on his third voyage, and it was there that she wrote the letter to Secretary

¹ Machyn's *Diary*: "The xiv day of September was bered master Heyns, stuard unto my lord cardenall, at Hamsted heth, with ij dosen scochyons, xij torchys, ij whyt branchys, and iiij grett tapurs, and a grett denier."

Walsingham which is our chief evidence of Frobisher's connection with the



MARTIN FROBISHER.

From an illustration in the Bodleian Library.

village. The Admiral had evidently used as much of the fortune of Widow Riggatt and her children as was obtainable, in helping to promote his great

Cathay Company, and many must have been the discussions between the pair in their Hampstead home on this burning question; but the Queen had received him, favoured his expedition, honoured him by placing a golden chain round his neck, and everything seemed so promising that the wife gave up all she had, relying on but a slender provision for herself and family—a provision that was exhausted long before the adventurer's return.

The assurances he had given her on parting soon seemed to the anxious wife altogether illusory. The great sea venture had been fed but to bring her to poverty, she complained; in which strait she wrote in “abject misery” to Secretary Walsingham her pitiful appeal, avowing herself “the most miserable woman in the world,” referring to her former marriage, her widowhood, her accession to “good state and good portions” for herself and offspring, and her subsequent marriage to “Mr. Captain Frobisher (whom God forgive), who had not only spent that which her said husband left her, but the portions also of her poor children,” and had “put them all to the wide world to shift a most lamentable case.” She further represented that “to increase her misery, she having not to relieve herself, her children's children of her said first husband” had been sent to her, “having *a poor room within another at Hampstead* near London, for her to keep at which place she and they are for want of food ready to starve, to your poor oratrix's intolerable grief and sorrow.”¹

It is a sad picture, and, one would fain hope, overdrawn. She appealed to “his honour to help her,” and also begged that “one Mr. Kempe Gent dwelling in the Wool Staple at Westminster” might be compelled to pay her £4 which he had “promised to pay for the said Mr. Frobisher.”

There we have to leave the story as far as it concerns Hampstead. Whether Mr. Secretary Walsingham assisted Mrs. Frobisher or not we cannot ascertain; we do not even know whether she survived until the Admiral's return, for his absence was prolonged. In any case, she did not live to share the high honours that were afterwards conferred upon the Captain. Although of a rough nature and not much given to sentimentality, Frobisher must often have thought of the woman he had left behind him at Hampstead, whose money had helped to equip him for the expedition in which he claimed to have discovered King Solomon's Mines. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher were the heroes of many later exploits, and shared much valuable booty; they were also the experienced captains who were chosen to command the victorious fleet that defeated the Spanish Armada. Then the Queen knighted Frobisher,

¹ Fox Bourne's *English Seamen*, 1862.

and with "all his blushing honours thick upon him" he went a-wooing again, and, years after his disconsolate first wife had passed away to her last resting-place from that "poor room within another at Hampstead," he married another widow—Dame Dorothy Widmerpoole. He was soon away to sea again, however, and, after another spell of active service, was fatally wounded at the attack on Brest in 1594, dying at Plymouth. His body was brought to London and buried in St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

Sir Thomas Fytzherbert was residing at Hampstead in 1585, whence he sent letters to Secretary Walsingham pleading for a warrant of discharge in respect of cost of horses and armour, intimating that no one was more willing to serve the Queen than he, but that his poor estate did not admit of service without recoupment.¹

The manor of Hampstead continued in the possession of the Wroth family for a period of forty-seven years after the death of Sir Thomas Wroth in 1573; but there is nothing to associate any of its members with the place beyond the fact of ownership. Sir Thomas Wroth's son Robert succeeded him, and was honoured with knighthood in 1603.² He lived until 1606, when his son, also named Robert, a knight, became lord of the manor of Hampstead. This Sir Robert Wroth appears to have led a life of ostentation and luxury. He was married to Mary, daughter of Robert Sidney, first Earl of Leicester, and niece of Sir Philip Sidney, a lady of literary ambitions, who wrote a poetical work entitled *Urania*, to which the courtly flatterers of the time made laudatory allusions. It was in the vein of her uncle's *Arcadia*, but of no great merit, in spite of the fact that it was highly approved by so good a judge of poetry as Chapman, Homer's Elizabethan translator, whom Keats has ensured of immortality by a sonnet. Chapman hailed her as "the happy starre discovered in our Sydneian Asterisme, comfort of learning, sphere of all the vertues, the Lady Wrothe." Ben Jonson was hardly less enthusiastic or more sincere about the poetess. "Rare Ben," indeed, seems to have been on very friendly terms with the Wroths. It was of this Sir Robert Wroth that the poet wrote his lines—

How blessed art thou, canst love the country, Wroth,

And though so near the City and the Court,
Art ta'en with neither's vice or sport.

When Sir Robert Wroth (the second) died, in 1614, a great part of his estates was swallowed up in the payment of his debts. He had devised his

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1585.

² Index to *Remembrancia*.

“manor and rectory of Hampstead,” with all his other manors and estates in Middlesex, to his uncle John Wroth, his brother John Wroth, and his cousin John Wroth, in trust to sell the same, or such portions of them as should be necessary, for discharging his debts and legacies. In a sessions reference to certain disputes in 1619, when probably Sir Robert Wroth’s executors found it difficult to deal with the burden of debts the testator had left on their hands, the “Mannour House, *alias* Hampsteede Hall,” is mentioned as the scene of “a forcible and riotous entry” on the part of Robert Dixon, John Cove, and Wm. Chambers, “all three late of Hampsteede,” who were keeping the owners out of possession.¹ In the following year the Wroths made an end of these Hampstead difficulties by disposing of the manor to Sir Baptist Hickes; from which purchase dates a new era in the history of the place. There is yet another Wroth association with Hampstead to be mentioned. In 1621 (October 26) a warrant was issued to Henry Wroth to “oversee and preserve the game of deer, pheasants,” etc., within various parishes of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, including Hampstead.²

During the Wroth régime, however, many things of moment had occurred. Although, so far as can be gathered, no lord of the manor had hitherto been an actual resident of the parish, the lord’s house of the subordinate manor of Belsize had been from Sir Roger de Brabazon’s time in the occupation of personages of some note and importance, presumably as lessees of the Priors of Westminster, until the dissolution, and after that as tenants of the King till August 8, 1542, when Belsize, with Hoddesford and Cowhouse, were granted to the Dean and Chapter. This in itself is a clear indication that there was no manor house for Hampstead itself of special significance. Such manor hall as existed would serve as the steward’s or bailiff’s residence, doing service also as the Manor Court.

Among the Hampstead landowners, other than the lord of the manor, at this period, was Sir Roger Cholmely, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who on July 20, 1546, bought a number of properties for £396, amongst them “all that our lordship and manor of Hampstead with all its rights and purtenances, formerly belonging to the Priory or Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and all our lands and tenements in the parishes of Willesden and Hendon, let with the manor of Hampstead to John Barne, and all that free

¹ Gaol Delivery Rolls, 17 James I.

² State Papers, Domestic, James I., 1621.

and annual payment of 20s. paid from the aforesaid manor to the monastery of St. Peter at Westminster."

Other considerable landowners were the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, who possessed two distinct properties—Chalcot, lying between Belsize and Marylebone, and consisting of some eighty acres; and Wyldes, an estate of 320 acres, described in the original grant as in the parishes of Hendon, Finchley, and Hampstead, and bordering upon the Heath. These had been part of the property of the St. James's Hospital for Leprous Women, as has already been told; but on the founding of Eton College by Henry VI. the properties were transferred to the new scholastic institution, the governors of which were made wardens of the hospital. Although Edward IV. subsequently annulled this grant, he later revoked the annulment, and at the end of the fifteenth century the Provost of Eton was again in possession of both hospital and estates. Under Henry VIII. there was a further royal interference. His Majesty desired a new town palace, and began his project of building Whitehall, for which purpose he took over both the old Whitehall Palace of the Archbishops of York, then in the occupancy of Wolsey, and the Leper Hospital of St. James. In return for the hospital, the King in 1531 exchanged certain lands with the Provost of Eton, giving lands in Kent and Suffolk for those at Westminster, the terms of the arrangement being commemorated in the old Eton couplet—

Henricus Octavus
Took away more than he gave us.

Eton College lost some part of its Hampstead possessions by this transaction; but there was enough left to yield considerable revenue in later years. The Chalcot estate was laid out for building purposes about 1850; roads, avenues, and streets bearing names of Etonian association recall the old connection—as in Eton Avenue, College Road, Fellows Road, Oppidans Road, Provost Road, King Henry's Road, and so on.

The other Eton College estate, Wyldes, retained much of its ancient aspect down to recent days, being then let as farm lands, divided into several holdings, until, as is more particularly related in Chapter XIX., a portion of it was added to Hampstead Heath in 1907.

Many interesting facts are revealed by the Middlesex County Records concerning the condition of Hampstead in Tudor days. From an imperfect Roll of 6 Edward VI. (1552), dealing with the subject of the licensing of "tippling houses or alehouses," we gather that at that date there were three

such houses at Hampstead, while Highgate had five ; but no name, sign, or precise locality is given. Still, this is information so far as it goes. The same may be said of an item under date 2nd September 13 Eliz. (1570) recording that one "Adam Chatterton, late of London, inholder," had diverted "a certain watercourse that used to run from a certain spring at Hampsted through Kentyshetowne towards London," showing the importance attached to the River Fleet at that date. The record of a true bill being found against a Hampstead "gentleman" in 1582 (25 Eliz.) for "not going to church, chapel, or any other usual place of Common Prayer," from the 1st of October "to the 1st January then next,"¹ reads strangely at this day. The Hampstead gentleman, one John Phillips, seems to have erred in good company ; for along with him were indicted for a similar offence "William, Lord Vauxe, George Vauxe, gentleman, son of the said Lord Vauxe, and William Hollys, yeoman, all three of Tottenham." Nine years later another Hampstead man, John Sappton, was summoned for a like dereliction.²

Under date of the 30th March 1582 there is the record of a robbery at Hampstead by one "Richard Croftes, alias Crosley, late of London, gentleman, and Richard Bacon, alias Gravett, late of London, yeoman," who stole a gold chain worth £80, the property of Henry, Lord Clynton, and "8/6 in numbered money belonging to Robert Eldred."³

From a letter of May 3, 1593, written by Philip Gawdy, of Clifford's Inn, to his brother, who was High Sheriff of Norfolk, it would almost appear that Queen Elizabeth was at Hampstead soon after that date. "I was yesterdaye," he writes, "with my oncle at the serjeants feaste. . . . There was at the feaste my Lord Keeper [Bacon] and Sir Jhon Foscue. . . . The Queene's Majestie is going a progress ; first she commethe to Lambeth, from thence she gothe to Wimbleton, from thence to Sir Jhon Foscues by Hampstead,⁴ from thence to Highgate . . . and so some say forthe towards Cambridge."⁵ The progress referred to seems only to have been partly accomplished. Still, with the chancellor of the exchequer living at Hendon, and Cecil at Hatfield, the Queen must occasionally have crossed Hampstead Heath with a gay cavalcade, one or both of the two ministers by her side, looking anxiously along the Great North Road over which her messengers to and from Scotland were wont to pass.

A Hampstead murder case was tried at the Middlesex Sessions in September 1594. From the record we find that on the 8th of that month "at

¹ Gaol Delivery Rolls, May 4, 26 Elizabeth.

² *Ibid.* 34 Elizabeth.

³ *Ibid.* Ap. 9, 24 Elizabeth.

⁴ This would be Sir John Fortescue, and the house was at Hendon.

⁵ Historical MSS. Commission : MSS. of George Edward Frere, Esq., of Roydon Hall, Co. Norfolk.

Hampsted . . . and in Warne Lane¹ near the high way leading from London to Edgeware, John Hurford, alias Marvyn, alias Browne, yoman, and Thomas Sympson, yoman, and Richard Weekes, alias Hartrowe, gentleman, all late of London, assaulted George Beer, late of Hampsted, laborer, with a dagg² charged with powder and ball, and then and there shot the same George Beer in the said lane at Wilsdon³ in Hampsted, giving him on his forehead a mortal wound." Beer seems to have lingered for about five days. A coroner's inquest was held at Hampstead, and a verdict of wilful murder returned against Sympson; the others were charged with "aiding and abetting." Sympson was afterwards hanged for the crime. As to the others, Marvyn was reported as "at large," and "Richard Weekes, alias Hartrowe, held silence, wherefore it was adjudged *quod eat ad penam duram*." ⁴

Another Middlesex Sessions Rolls item of Elizabethan days (2nd December 41 Eliz., 1598) is worth specifying if only for a curious legal custom which it mentions—that of branding with what was called the "Tyburn T." Three men, James Lambert, Thomas Cooper, and Richard Ardington, "all late of London, yomen," were charged with stealing "two red cows" at Hampstead, "worth six pounds, of the goods and chattels of William Ewer." Each of the three thieves confessed his guilt; but, whilst Lambert and Cooper were sentenced to be hanged, Ardington escaped the extreme penalty by "asking for the book and reading like a clerk," whereby he was simply "marked with the letter T and delivered according to the statute."

This custom was founded on the old *privilegium clericale*, withdrawn by Henry VIII. but restored by Edward VI., whereby clerks in holy orders were exempted from punishment, and the only evidence required to support the claim for exemption was "the ability to read in a clerkly manner," a provision which was allowed to be taken advantage of by laymen also; thus if a man was able to read he could adopt a career of crime with impunity. The branding was a disadvantage, it is true; but means were often found of obliterating the mark by a broader and deeper scar. In connection with this "benefit of clergy" custom, these same Middlesex Sessions Rolls record the fact that the poet Ben Jonson escaped punishment for killing a man in a duel, by "asking for the book and reading like a clerk." None of Jonson's biographers seem

¹ Walm Lane, Cricklewood, a very old thoroughfare leading to Willesden, still existing.

² A long, heavy pistol.

³ "Wilsdon," however, was never in the parish of Hampstead; but the inquest was probably held at Hampstead, because it was the place where Beer died.

⁴ This might be done to save his property or to avoid the infamy of conviction. If he did not plead he could not be tried.

to have been aware of this; indeed, it has been generally supposed that the story of Jonson's duel was a bit of the poet's braggadocio. These Sessions Rolls, however, give precise details of the affair.

It was in Tudor times that London made its first attempt to obtain a supply of water from Hampstead. From a very early period the springs of Hampstead were regarded as of considerable importance, and, long before the charge of watercourse-diversion against Adam Chatterton in 1570¹ already mentioned, were much coveted by the dwellers in the valleys below. So long as these springs were in the possession of the Abbots of Westminster, they were not permitted to be interfered with to any great extent. They fed the various ponds of Hampstead and the low-lying parts of Highgate. The rest ran to waste. As the population of London increased and the question of its water-supply became more serious it was sought to compel Hampstead to contribute to London's needs. After the Act of Dissolution there was no Abbot of Westminster left to oppose such a project.

There was an Act of Parliament passed in 1543-44 (35 Henry VIII.), authorising the construction of the necessary conduits and channels for the conveyance of water from Hampstead to London. It recites that—

Sir William Bowyer, Knyght, now Mayor of the saide citie [London] . . . muche willing to helpe and releve the saide citie and suburbes with new fountaynes and fresh sprynges for the comoditie of the Kinges said subjects, calling to him as well dyvers grave and expert parsones of his bretherne and other of the cominaltie of the saide citie, as other parsones in and aboutes the conveyance of Water well experimented, hath not oonly by dylygent serche and exploracion found out dyvers great and plentifull springes at Hampstede Hethe, Marybon, Hakkney, Muswell Hill, and dyvers places within fyve miles of the said citie, very mete, propice, and convenyent to be brought and conveyed to the same . . . that it shall be lawfull . . . to entre into the groundes and possessions . . . of every other parsonne and parsones . . . and there to digg pittes, trenches, and dytches, and to erect heddes, lay pipes, and make vaults . . . and also to have free ingresse, egresse, and regresse into all such places . . . from tyme to tyme . . . without Interruption, etc.

The Act includes a number of provisos set forth in a separate schedule. These, in so far as they directly affect Hampstead, and deal with certain local features, it may be of interest to quote, although it was not until over forty years later that the constructional work authorised by the Act was attempted to be carried out. A proviso regarding the powers conferred and the acknowledgments to be made, ran thus :

Provyded allways and be it enacted by thauctorite aforesaide, that if the said Maiour and Cominaltie of the Citie of London or theyr successours at eny time hereafter do fetch

¹ See *ante*, p. 67.

and convey any water from eny sprynge or sprynges within the said hethe called Hampsted Hethe unto the said Citie and thear erect and make heddes and vawtes for the conveyance of the same water, that then they the said Maiour and Cominaltie and theyr successours shall for ever yelde, beare, and paye yerely unto the Bisshop of Westminster for the tyme being and to his successors, at the feast of St. Mychell thachaungell, one pound of pepper in and for thacknowledging hym and theym for the Lordes and verie owners of the said hethe; and that for the sure payment therof unto the said Bisshoppe for the tyme being and to his successours the said Mayre and Comynaltie for the tyme being shall within three monythes next after therecion and making of eny suche heddes and vawtes uppon the said Heathe, make or cause to be made to the said Bisshope for the tyme being and his successors, a sufficient graunte in wrighting under theyr common Seale with clause of distresse within any their landes or tenementes within the said Citie of London, when and as often as it shall happen or fortune the saide pounce of pepper at eny time after the graunte thereof to be behinde unpayde by the space of tenne dayes after the said feaste above limited for the yerly payment thereof, and yt be lawfully askyd or demanded by the said Bisshoppe or his successors or his or theyr assignes of the said Mayour and his successours uppon eny Courte daye within the Guylde hall; this present Acte of Parliament or enything thearin conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding.

The next proviso makes special reference to a certain spring on the Heath, reserved for the use of the people of Hampstead and not to be interfered with by the lessees of the new water rights. It also mentions an exception in favour of Manor Place.

Provided also and be yt further enacted by auctoritie aforesaide, that the said Mayre and Cominaltie or theyr successours shall not at any tyme hereafter medle with the springe at the foote of the hyll¹ of the said Heathe called Hampsted Heathe, nowe closed in with bricks for the ease, commodite, and necessarie use of the inhabitauntes of the Towne of Hampsted, nor doo cause or procure to be donne enythinge, Acte, or Actes to the impearing, hurte, or diminissing of the water of the same Sprynge at any time hereafter; this Acte or enythinge thearin conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding; And also yt shall and may be lawfull to the said Bisshoppe and his successors to dygge, fynde, and conveye, or caused to be dygged, founde, and conveyed from any Sprynge or Sprynges in any grounde or groundes on the lyfte syde of the highe waye leading from the Towne of Hampsted aforesaid towards Hendon, to the Manor Place of Hampstead aforesaid, with sufficient for the use and commoditie of the same Manor Place; the said Acte or enythinge therin conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding.

The references to and extracts from this Act given by Park, and followed by some later writers, do not seem to have been very accurate, either as to dates or wording. I have gone to original sources, however, and can vouch for the foregoing excerpts being faithful copies.

It was not until 1589, when Sir John Hart was Lord Mayor, that full effect was given to the authorisation of the Act of 1546. In the first-named

¹ It is not improbable that this original conduit was in the neighbourhood of the old Engine House site on the Lower Heath. The subject is further discussed in Mr. Geo. W. Potter's *Hampstead Wells*.

year the Common Council undertook, by expending a thousand marks which had been collected, to draw "diverse sprynges about Hampsted heath into one head and course," whereby "both the citie should be served of fresh water in all places of want, and also that by such a follower, as men call it, the channell of this brooke should be scowred into the rieur of Thames." This undertaking does not seem to have fulfilled expectation. For one thing, the skill of the engineers of the time was not equal to the proper handling of the scheme. They laid pipes, dug pits, made conduits, and established a connection with Turnmill Brook (the River of Wells, as it was called later), and the Old Bourne, which merged into the Fleet near Holborn Bridge. They also gave satisfaction to owners of the soil wherever the rights of property were interfered with, and made special provision for protecting the springs "at the foot of the hyll of the sayde Heath, called Hamstede Heath, now closed in with brick for the commodity and necessary use of the inhabitants of the towne of Hamstede." Despite all this, the "scouring" of the Fleet was far from being accomplished, and after a while it was reported that the "ditch" was in a more "choaked" condition than ever. According to Norden, it was "once navigable," and "lighters and barges used to go up as far as Pancras church." Vessels of light tonnage were able to sail up to Holborn Bridge until the seventeenth century; but the sanitary sense and knowledge of the time were so defective that refuse of every kind was cast into the "ditch." Ben Jonson has described, in terms of characteristic coarseness, a trip he made from Bridewell to Holborn Bridge. Indeed, the literature of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries may be said to be redolent of Fleet Ditch malodours. The fresh and clean tribute of the Hampstead springs could make but little impression on a "sluice of mud" like this, where, as a writer in the *Tatler* of October 17, 1710, puts it—

Filth of all hues and odours seem to tell
 What street they sail'd from, by their sight and smell.
 They, as each torrent drives, with rapid force,
 From Smithfield, or St. Pulchre's shape their course,
 And in huge confluent join'd at Snow Hill ridge,
 Far from the Conduit, prone to Holborn Bridge,
 Sweepings from Butchers' stalls, dung, guts, and blood,
 Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drenched in mud,
 Dead cats and turnip tops tumbling down the flood.

Although it was long a popular belief that the River Fleet had its source in Hampstead, it was only one of the two little Hampstead brooks that went to form it. The feeder brook from its rise under the ridge of Highgate and

Hampstead to its outfall at Blackfriars had a descent of over 300 feet, and may well have given the name "Fleet" (meaning rapid flow) to the Fleet itself, which was only properly applied to the part which extended from Holborn Bridge to the Thames.¹ The brook ran at the back of what is now Fleet Road and forward in the line of Mansfield Road, to its entrance into St. Pancras parish. From that point to its junction with the Highgate brook its course is now difficult to trace. According to Rocque's map² (1745-47) it took a fairly straight line until it joined the Highgate stream about the level of Leighton Road, at a spot now covered by the Midland Railway works. Here, as Mr. Hastings White points out, were water-cress beds as late as the middle 'sixties of the last century. I myself bought water-cress in Gospel Oak Fields frequently as a boy. Now, the Fleet River, and all that it stood for, its early romance and its later malodours, is dead.

It was not until 1692 that the Hampstead springs were put to better use. In that year they were leased to the Hampstead Water Company by the Corporation of London, and new ponds and reservoirs were formed, which for nearly a hundred and fifty years were found sufficient to supply the needs of the people of Kentish Town and Camden Town. Not until 1835 was this supply sought to be augmented.


In Elizabethan times three great brooks rising at Hampstead found their way to the Thames. These were the Old Bourne or Holebourn, or River Fleet, the Tybourne, and the Westbourne. The first had two sources—one in Ken Wood and the other near the Vale of Health. These two rivulets united in Kentish Town, and thence ran in one course through green meadows, past water-mills, under rustic bridges, and through the grounds of monasteries, convents, and priories, by Pancras, and Clerkenwell, and on through Hatton Garden, where the Bishops of Ely had their famous palace and gardens. Close beyond, the stream, becoming the Fleet, reached Holborn Bridge and emptied itself into the Thames at Blackfriars. The Tybourne's source was in Shepherd's Fields, to the west of Rosslyn House, and in those days this stream made its way down the hill-sides to Marylebone, then on to "Tyborne" (somewhere near the present junction of Edgware Road and Oxford Street), and forward in the direction of what is now Bond Street to Westminster and the Thames. Westbourne arose from several sources on the western side



¹ See an interesting contribution on this point in *The Hampstead Annual* (1904-1905), by Mr. A. Hastings White.

² See *post*, p. 234.

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"THE ANNALS OF HAMPSTEAD"



Walls	-----	
Fences	-----	
Hedges	-----	
Orchards	-----	
Ditches	-----	

Gardens	
Churches	
Buildings	
Plowed Land	
Pasture	

Woods 

Paths 

Hills 

Ponds 

Wilderness 

Grass 

Rivers 

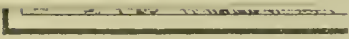
Roads 

Brooks 

A horizontal scale bar divided into 8 equal segments. The segments are labeled 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 0 furlong from left to right.

Scale of Perches.

[illegible]



- Walls*
- Pales*
- Hedges*
- Orchards*
- Ditches*

of Hampstead Heights, and had as one of its affluents the Keleburn (Kilburn). Its course from Kilburn Priory was towards Bayswater, passing beneath Edgware Road, and ultimately reaching the Thames (after having spread itself out for a space in Hyde Park and forming the lake called the Serpentine, now artificially supplied) at Chelsea, near where the College now stands.

The Old Bourne stream must have had a rather swift flow in its descent from its source on Hampstead Heights to its outfall at Blackfriars, and at one period, over one portion of its course, was known as the River of Wells.

During the Tudor period we have no particular literary reference to Hampstead, though it must have been known to Shakespeare, Jonson, and the other great Elizabethans. Hampstead was a somewhat distant village then; not a suburb, as now. There was only open country between Moorfields and Hampstead Heath; roads were rugged and few, and there were no public conveyances. Hampstead, moreover, was a village of simple farming folk, who probably were unable to read, and knew little of theatres or plays. Their time was spent in labour, with but brief spells of leisure. Their food was of the plainest, their drink small beer (fermented and alcoholic), their raiment coarse russet, for in those days sumptuary laws regulated people's clothes according to their station.

CHAPTER V

BEAUTIFUL BELSIZE

The Masterful Hand—Hampstead's Isolation—New Conditions—Beautiful Belsize—Armigell Waad—A Famous Expedition—The Alchemist—A Great Funeral—Armigell Waad's Will—William Waad at Belsize—Important Embassies—Armada Beacon on Hampstead Heath—A Plot against Queen Elizabeth—A Miracle at Sea—William Waad knighted—Waad's Dismissal—Letters from Belsize—Plague—Estimates of Waad's Character—Lady Anne Waad and her Successors—Waad's Treatment of Raleigh and Gerard—Thomas Bushell—Financial Difficulties—Serjeant Wilde lends Lady Anne Money on Mortgage—Wilde in Possession—Daniel O'Neill—Lady Chesterfield—Lord Wotton—The Earls of Chesterfield as Lords of Belsize—Sale of Belsize.



THE Tudor period was essentially a masterful time. The monarchs were uncompromising despots. Fortunately for themselves and the country, however, they were rulers of marked ability, and, despite a selfishness of character that allowed little to come between them and the achievement of their personal desires, they were also patriots. They were suited to the time—a time of great development—of rapid transition from feudal fetters to constitutional freedom. A firm hand in guidance was required. The Tudor spirit diffused itself throughout the community. Those in place and power showed a strong sense of responsibility and a determination to mould the forces under them to vitalising purposes. This was evident in every sphere of activity—in government, in sea-adventure, in the public services, in trade and commerce, in literature, and even in the ordering of the smaller concerns of local life.

Thus in Hampstead, although there was no particular expansion of interests observable, and many of the forces that were doing so much for other parts of the country hardly touched the village on the hill, there was solid growth, especially from the social point of view. Hampstead did not then, nor has it since, become influenced, except indirectly, by the extension

of trade. No Flemish weavers came to set up looms in the neighbourhood of Hampstead ; no manufactures, no markets, no trading fairs, were established within its boundaries. Its separation from these things was its salvation as a residential quarter. The wealthy men of the city—merchants, traders, and others—coveted its picturesque quietude and pure air for hours of leisure, and now and then aristocratic families sought to establish homes there. Thus Hampstead gradually outgrew its more strictly agricultural character, and the old-style peasants, living by field labour and subjected to manorial thralldom, dwindled in number year by year.

Hampstead was still a manor, and Belsize a sub-manor ; but the old manorial conditions were weakened. There remained the copyhold system, along with certain privileges of the nominal lord of the land, for which the people had to pay dearly in later times ; but the ancient institution of the manor had been practically lost in the improved and more direct relations between the national Government and the people. The form of the manor remained ; but its spirit had been destroyed.

At the dissolution of the monasteries the Prior of Westminster received £19 a year from Belsize, and Henry VIII. made a re-grant of the estate to Westminster Abbey.

When Sir Baptist Hickes became possessed of the manor of Hampstead it was as a property owner rather than as a manorial lord that he regarded himself. In a different way, the Waads (or Wades), lessees of Belsize from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, were representatives of the new order.

Belsize House and Park must have formed a lovely country seat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The mansion was of considerable extent, and the park was said to be “a mile round.” At the time of which we speak, Belsize was the principal residence in Hampstead parish, and contemporaneously with Sir Thomas Wroth’s possession of the Hampstead Manor, Armigell Waad, Clerk of the Council to Henry VIII. and Edward VI., lived at Belsize. He was of Yorkshire descent, and evidently of good birth, having been educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his M.A. degree in 1531. Afterwards he studied for the bar. Later he seems to have gone on voyages to America, in company with other adventurers, acquitting himself with sufficient success to attract considerable notice, and indeed to gain him the title of the “English Columbus.” Anthony à Wood goes so far as to affirm that “he made many observations in his

A.D. 1531.

travels in America," and was "the first Englishman that discovered it," meaning, of course, the first Englishman to visit that continent—to disprove which statement we need only mention the names of the Cabots, who sailed from Bristol on their memorable American expedition in 1496. Fuller, in his *Worthies of Yorkshire*, avers that Waad's "several voyages are largely described in Mr. Hackluit his travels"; but the references there are too meagre and too general to be of any special significance.

Armigell Waad, however, must have been for those days a notable traveller; and this distinction would strongly recommend him to the King's favour, and ultimately gain him his appointment to the higher social dignity of Clerk to the Council. It would not be his voyages so much as his "observations" that brought him into notice, and it is to be regretted that my research has not been rewarded by the discovery of any of these records. Still, there is enough to establish Waad's claim to distinction in the account of Hore's voyage to Newfoundland, referred to in Park's *History*. Two ships were engaged in this enterprise, Mr. Hore himself commanding *The Trinity* (140 tons), while "in another ship," the record states, "whose name was *The Minion*, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman, one M. Armigel Wade, afterwarde clerke of the counsailes of King Henry the 8th and K. Edward the 6th, . . . with divers others of good account." It was evidently a private adventure, though "assisted by the king's favour and good countenance." The expedition left Gravesend at the end of April 1536, and sailed to Cape Breton, the Isles of Penguin, and Newfoundland, "where they suffered famine to such a degree, that the ship's company began to devour one another, but were at length relieved by the arrival of a French ship well victualled, which they, contriving by some sleight to lay hold of, returned to England in, and arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall about the end of October."

In the final years of the retention of Calais as an English possession, Armigell Waad was a member of the council of that port, first as clerk to Henry VIII.'s French secretary, Sir John Benolde, who "by reason of his infirmity and age" had "compounded" with Waad to help him. Waad was confirmed in the position by royal grant, being appointed "clerk of the council in the town and Marches of Calais." His services were evidently greatly valued, Lord Maltravers, the Lord-Deputy, writing to the King in November 1540, in reference to the visit of the Earl of Sussex and Sir John Gage, Royal Commissioners to Calais, informing his Majesty that they "found great luck of one meet to be clerk of the council here," Armigell Waad; and

on the death of Sir John Benolde in 1543, Maltravers begged Henry to confer the secretaryship upon Waad, in addition to his other duties, assuring Henry that "the two rooms [positions] will be better administered than if furnished by two persons."

In 1547 Waad was a clerk in the home privy council, in the same year being elected M.P. for Chipping Wycombe, and in 1552 was appointed chief clerk, A.D. 1552. being from time to time entrusted with special services. Amongst other matters he formulated the accusations upon which the Countess of Sussex was committed to the Tower in 1552, and subsequently divorced. Although he does not seem to have retained his clerkship under Mary, nor was the office offered to him again by Elizabeth, he was still treated as a man to be entrusted with responsible duties; and in 1559 was at the head of an embassy to the Duke of Holstein, his instructions being¹ to "repayre to Holsatia eyther by lande or sea or by bothe," and, delivering certain letters to the Duke, to confer with him or his Council concerning certain "matters of trafique" in the interests of English merchants, and endeavour to obtain for them such trading "immunities, liberties, privileges" for their wares as were desired.

It may be assumed that he concluded his embassy satisfactorily, for three years later he was called upon to muster at Rye 600 men for Havre.

Among his multitudinous affairs Waad was deeply interested in the scientific developments of his time and especially in alchemy, the most romantic of the sciences. He seems to have studied the subject, though preserving an open mind in regard to it. He was ready to be convinced, but he must have proof. His acquaintance with the matter, however, was sufficient to win the confidence of Elizabeth and of the astute and suspicious Cecil, and when Cornelius de Lannoy (d'Alneto, Alvitanus) appeared upon the scene and offered to produce for the Queen by alchemic processes 50,000 marks weight of pure fine gold annually at a small expense, Waad was consulted and put in charge of the experimenter and the experiments, and it is from Waad's letters to Cecil² and the State Papers³ that we are able to piece together the threads of this sordid story. In a book which he had written and sent to the Queen, Cornelius had described, with seeming plausibility, how the philosopher's stone could be obtained by transmutation, and in February 1565 he was in England ready for business. He put down on A.D. 1565. paper, still preserved in the Public Record Office, the terms and conditions upon which he was prepared to carry out his offer. He was to have a grant

¹ Harleian MSS. No. 36.

² Hatfield MSS.

³ State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1565-6-7.

of 2000 crowns for the cost of his installation, a monthly allowance of 50 crowns for his domestic expenses, besides free fuel, lodging, etc.

Elizabeth was wary, however, and, seeing that Cornelius had promised to impart many other industrial secrets, she resolved to make trial of him in that direction before risking her 2000 crowns; and by August we find in a letter from Waad to Cecil, dated from Belsize, that Lannoy had been at work satisfactorily in the glasshouses. He was accordingly allowed to begin "the great work" under Waad's strict supervision. All seemed to be going on well until, as ever, woman supervened. A fair and fascinating princess, Cecilia of Sweden, fled to England for help from Elizabeth, and in some way or other came to the knowledge of the wonderful transmutation that was being carried on in secret for Elizabeth's sole benefit. Here was a saviour more acceptable than the stern and parsimonious monarch. The Princess contrived a meeting with the alchemist in his laboratory at Somerset Place, and the result appeared in a signed and sealed bond of Lannoy in which he engaged to give the Princess Cecilia £10,000 by May 1, as a friendly loan.

But, wily as the alchemist might be, he was a child in the hands of skilled men of the world like Armigell Waad and Cecil. The bond was no sooner signed than a copy of it went to Cecil and the Queen. Elizabeth's faith in the alchemist was still unshaken, but she had not the slightest intention of running a gold-making factory for the benefit of wandering princesses, and a strict injunction was sent to both parties that no further communication should take place between them. Naturally, the orders were disobeyed. Daily letters passed between the alchemist and the Princess, copied for Cecil's benefit before they were delivered. Court scandal was rife, and a compassionate nobleman took the trouble to make the Princess's adventures the subject of a court play, which was presented by the Children of the Chapel.

In the beginning of March the Princess wrote for an immediate advance of £3000, to which the alchemist answered he was sorry he could send nothing before Easter. A fortnight later a loan of 25s. was thankfully acknowledged, and the next week the Princess's servants were arrested for a debt of 10s.

Lannoy now saw that he had promised too much. All through March Waad had warned Cecil that the alchemist was making arrangements to escape, and a stricter surveillance was kept by Waad himself. He urged Cecil "for God's sake to get him despatched," and Cornelius was at last detained in the Tower. Once in disgrace, the Queen began to ask what had become of her money, and a long correspondence ensued. Lannoy's receipts for trans-

mutation were examined. A translation of one of these in Waad's handwriting is still preserved, and the first page of it is reproduced overleaf in facsimile.¹ Cornelius kept up an incessant appeal for freedom, now to Cecil, now to Leicester, now to the Queen herself. He prayed her Majesty "to have pity on himself, his wife and family," that they might be restored to liberty so that he might "gird himself up and complete the work without suspicion or fraud," and asked her Highness "to inquire into the deceit of that crafty accuser [Waad] and his own in order to test which is the deceitful one." On March 29, 1567, Waad "kept back all boats on the Thames and brought Cornelius to court," and the Queen would appear to have relented upon this personal appeal being made. At all events, soon afterwards he was released from the Tower and "allowed to disappear," and we may be sure that when Armigell Waad returned to his retreat at Belsize it was not to pursue any further investigations into the science of alchemy. A.D. 1567.

At another time we find Waad writing from Belsize informing Cecil of his having given orders for improving the gardens at Hatfield, recommending the planting of "lavender, spike, hyssop, thyme, rosemary and sage," which were to be sent for to Hampton Court or Greenwich.² That the relations between

¹ For the information of the curious in such matters we append a copy of Armigell Waad's translation, as written out in his own hand:

"Cast one part of yo^r medicine vpon 10 partes of fyne gold, and they shalbe turned in to 10 partes of Medicine of the secund order. One part wherof being cast vpon 100 partes of anny metall will turn the same transsubstantionely in to pure gold. By this reason one part of the medicine of the fyrst order maketh 1000 partes of pure gold.

Cast one part of that medicine vpon 100 partes of fyne gold, and they shalbe turned in to 100 partes of Medicine of the secund order. One part wherof being cast vpon 1000 partes of anny other Metall will turn the same in to true gold. By this reason one part of the medicine of the first order will make 100 000 partes of pure gold.

Cast one part of the medicine vpon 1000 of fyne gold, and they shall be turned in to 1000 partes of medicine of the secund order. One part wherof being cast vpon 100 000 partes of anny other metall will convert the same in to gold. By this reason one part of the medicine of the fyrst order will make 100 000 000 partes of most pure gold.

The summe rising of theis thre proiections of the fyrst order is 100 101 000 partes.

The which being ounces mak 1262625 markes. Owt of the which summe if you deduct

30'303'000 0 0

12512625

50 000 markes there Remaneth 1212625 markes wherein be reteyned 24 tymes 50 000 markes and more 12625 markes.

The forme of Proiection is Take so myche Gold as maye serve for the proportion of yo^r proiection, and putt the same in a plane catello [vessel] to be molten wherupon being molten cast one part of yo^r medicine of the first order out of a papir coffin, and it wilbe turned in to a stoone of the color of a Ruby having besides many other colors. When this stone is cowed grynd him in to most smal powder, and preserve him Then take so many partes of leade as the proiection requireth and like wyse melt the same in a [blank in MSS.] w^t a more vehement melting, purging the leade molten from his fylth and skales (which doone cast therupon ow^t of a like coffin of papir one part of yo^r powdre lately made of gold, and by and by it will be turned in to pure gold."

The chief defect of this recipe is that it does not show how the "medicine," without which the initiative step could not be taken, was produced.

² State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1561.



Cast one part of 20th Medicine upon
10. parts of fine gold, and the whole
be turned into 10. parts of Medicine of
the second order. One part of the
being cast upon 100. parts of any Metall
will turn the same into the same
pure gold. By the reason one
part of the Medicine of the first
order maketh 1000. parts of pure gold.

Cast one part of the Medicine upon
100. parts of fine gold, and the whole
be turned into 100. parts of Medicine of the
second order. One part of the
being cast upon 1000. parts of any other
Metall will turn the same into the same
gold. By the reason one part
of the Medicine of the first order
will make 100000. parts of pure gold.

Cast one part of the Medicine
upon 1000. of fine gold, and the whole
be turned into 1000 parts of Medicine
of the second order. One part
of the being cast upon 100000. parts
of any other Metall will turn
the same into gold. By the reason
one part of the Medicine of the

Armigell Waad

Cecil and Waad were close is shown in many ways. In 1563 Waad and his wife sold the Lord Treasurer a house and 460 acres of land in Hampstead, Kentish Town, Paddington, and St. Pancras, probably part of a purchase made the previous year by Waad and his wife from Jerome Palmer and Eleanor his wife. For the latter purchase £480 was paid, for the former £490.¹

Waad's last years were spent at Belsize. We have no record of his life there; from which we may conclude that the days of his retirement were a time of tranquillity. He died at Belsize on June 20, 1568, and was buried A.D. 1568. at Hampstead Parish Church. The occasion would be one of impressive ceremonial, such as was befitting in the case of an old and valued servant of the State. Stephen Castell—known only as having instituted the Parish Register in 1560, and as having vindicated the dignity of his office by attending unbidden the Bishop's visitation of 1561—was rector at that time; and one can imagine that he was assisted in his duties on that day by some greater ecclesiastical personage. We may be sure that many men of mark and learning among the surviving friends of the ex-Clerk to the Council were there, as well as some special representative of the Queen. It was the first notable interment at Hampstead, and its importance in the eyes of the community was to some extent indicated by the elaborate nature of the alabaster monument, now no longer existent, erected to Waad's memory over his grave in the chancel of the Church. The inscription, in Latin, bore testimony to the official rank and services of the deceased, recorded the fact of his having been twice married, and to whom; and gave monumental emphasis to the claim that he had been the first Englishman to explore North America, from which it may be inferred that this was the prevailing idea at the time. The burial certificate is a much more extensive document than would have been drawn up for any ordinary person.

1568. These are to certefy the Kings and herauldes of armes, that *Mr. Armegill Waad, Esquire*, died at *Belsis*, in Hampstede parrishe, beside London, the xxth of June, and was buried within the parrishe (church) there the xxijth of the same, being Thursday; making his sonne and hayre Will'm *Waad* his executor: and the sayd *Armigill* was married first to *Alis Patten*, sister to *William Patten*, now of Newington; and by her had issue his sayd sonne & hayre *Will'm*, and *Thomas*; and daughters *Margaret*, who married *Mr. Robert Joanes, Esquiere*, Clerke of the Privy Seal, and had issue *Anne, Grisell*, and *Joyse*, unmarried at this day. And after the decease of their mother the sayd *Alis*, he married *Anne Marbury*, of the howse of . . . and had issue living by her.

And in witnes hereof these undernamed have wth their owne handes subscribed these

¹ Feet of Fines, Public Record Office, Michaelmas, 4 and 5 Elizabeth.

presentes, and set to their seales, an^o 1568, the xxij of June, the xth yeare of our soverayne lady the Queene Elizabeth.

FRANCES WAAD.
(L. S.)

WILLIAM WAAD.
(L. S.)

THOMAS HAYNES.
(L. S.)

Armigell Waad, by his will, proved February 5, 1569, directed as follows :—
“If at my departinge to God I shall happen to be at Hampsted or nye thereabouts my will is that my body be buried in the Chauncell of Hampsted Chuche so nye my late wyfe as convenientlie and with as small funerall charges as may be. Also my will is that my sonne William Waad shall have unto him and his heires for ever all my landes and tenementes in Goldinge Lane and the chambers by me bylded in Grayse Inne. Also my will is that my sonne William Waad shall have unto him and his heires my leases of Belsye and Leavenden and all other my leases.” This reference to Gray’s Inn would seem to show that the testator was a member of that Inn. His name does not occur in any existing Register ; but the early admission Registers of the Inn have been missing for many years, probably having been burnt in a fire which took place towards the end of the reign of Charles II. In regard to this matter, the Rev. Reginald J. Fletcher, Preacher of Gray’s Inn, informs me that Waad’s name does not appear even in a volume compiled shortly before the said fire (Harleian Collection, 1912) by one Segar. It may well be assumed that some names were omitted from this copy. That of Sir Edward Stanhope, who was made a Bencher in 1580, was certainly left out. Besides, as Mr. Fletcher points out, building leases would not have been granted to any but members. According to the records of Gray’s Inn, some chambers named Wade’s Buildings were ordered to be pulled down nearly a hundred years later, in 1663, being then “in greate danger of fallinge.” It is worthy of mention, also, that both Waad’s sons were members of Gray’s Inn ; the second son, Thomas, was a Bencher of the Society.

Armigell Waad had three children by his first wife, all of whom survived him, and seventeen by his second, six of them outliving him.

Among the local debtors to the estate of Armigell Waad was a Mr. Cockeram, with whom disputes arose, followed by an arbitration, revealing
A.D. 1571. some confusion of accounts. In a communication to Lord Burghley [Cecil],¹ Cockeram, after referring to his “debt of £1387 : 9 : 11 to the late Armigail Waad, and the award of the arbitrators,” says that “the sum of the exchange is £557 : 14 : 4 which I owe ; I am paying 12 per cent, and think it cheap.

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Additional, Elizabeth, 1571.

Consider my mean estate, and as Mr. [William] Waad will have Belsize let me have the ground about my house wherein my water comes. I sent in account of the debt of £722 : 3 : 4 a month after his father's death, and have made him another book of it since." Previous to this, William Waad had made a declaration complaining of the "sinister dealing" of Mr. Cockeram both before and after the death of Armigell Waad ; but into the rights of the matter I am not able to penetrate. Mr. Cockeram is mentioned by Norden in 1593 as one of the two principal Hampstead residents.

William Waad, who was twenty-two years of age at his father's death, was not only his father's successor in the ownership of the Belsize mansion, but later on came to occupy his father's old position of Clerk of the Council, an office which he filled with distinction under Queen Elizabeth and James I. He had the confidence of his sovereigns, and was frequently employed upon difficult missions.

After studying at Gray's Inn for a few years he went abroad, and in 1576 was in Burghley's service in Paris, and later in Italy, returning to England in 1581 and becoming secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1582, after being A.D. 1581. made a clerk of the Privy Council, he undertook certain delicate duties at the court of Austria, endeavouring to settle some long-standing disputes between English merchants and the representatives of the Hanse Towns ; and in the same year he formed one of Lord Willoughby's embassy entrusted with the duty of conveying to the King of Denmark the Order of the Garter and of conducting certain negotiations "about merchants' causes of traffic." He was then about thirty-six years of age. That he acquitted himself well is evident from the fact of his having been himself entrusted the next year (1583) with a special mission to the Emperor Rodolph concerning some A.D. 1583. commercial disputes then disturbing the course of commerce between this country and the Continent. In 1584 Queen Elizabeth, incensed at the treacherous conduct of Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, whom she had expelled from the country, despatched William Waad to Madrid with instructions to wait upon the King of Spain (Philip II., once consort of our Queen Mary) and make a full revelation of Mendoza's offences. This was a task of unusual delicacy. The relations between England and Spain were greatly strained. Already Philip had his mind secretly set upon the invasion of England, and was in no mood for showing courtesies to Elizabeth's representatives. The King declined to give an audience to Waad, somewhat curtly referring him to his Council. Waad refused to explain his business

except to his Majesty, and, after a prolonged waiting and an absolute determination on both sides not to give way, the Englishman had to return with his mission unaccomplished, being informed "in dark and doubtful terms that he was favourably dealt with, and might have looked for worse entertainment."¹ This ended Spain's diplomatic relations with England, and decided Elizabeth upon an alliance with Holland "to hold the seas against Spain."² Four years later, Philip sent forth his "invincible Armada" against England, and to few Englishmen could the destruction of that powerful fleet have given greater joy than to the lord of Belsize. It was probably under his direction that the great beacon on Hampstead Heath was set ablaze to spread the "wild alarum" of the coming of the foe after the approach of the Armada had been signalled from Plymouth by fire on fire from every jutting height. The patriotic spirit and activity of that fateful night are thrillingly reflected in Macaulay's lay :

Southward from Surrey's pleasant hills flew those bright couriers forth ;
High on bleak Hampstead's swarthy moor they started for the north.³

When Hampstead's blaze of alarum, which could be seen over five counties, had done its work, and at last the horsemen came spurring along with the news of the Armada's defeat, the beacon-fire was heaped still higher to celebrate the nation's triumph. What feasting there was at Belsize ! what rejoicing in the village ! what fervent thanksgiving at the church !

A.D. 1588.

In 1588 Sir William Waad (then Mr. Waad) published *Remonstrative Remonstrances, when the alarms of the Spaniards approached* ; and eight years later, in 1596, he recurred to the subject in a paper, "Concerning the Defence of the Kingdom against Invasions."

Among other diplomatic duties in which Waad gained additional fame were missions to Portugal and Denmark, and an important negotiation in connection with Mary Queen of Scots.

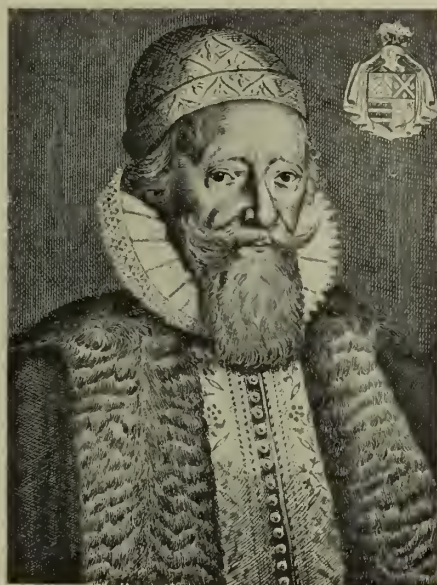
When Elizabeth made her last endeavour to negotiate terms of friendly arrangement with Mary Stuart, on the basis of a treaty with France, Sir William Waad was selected as escort to accompany Mason, the French agent, to Sheffield, where Mary was then imprisoned. Waad's interview with the Queen of Scots took place on April 24, 1584. The other persons present were Lord Shrewsbury and Mason. For a time Mason and the Queen maintained a conversation in French, of which language Shrewsbury was

¹ "Mission of Sir William Waad," MSS. Spain.

² Froude's *Hist. of England*, vol. xi. p. 632.

³ Macaulay's *Lay of the Spanish Armada*.

known to be ignorant, but presently things had come to such a pass that Waad struck into the conversation, Mary showing great irritation at finding herself unable to have secret talk with the Frenchman. Waad was equal to the occasion, and reminded her that Elizabeth's treatment of her was "one of the rarest examples of singular mercy and good inclination that was ever heard of"; at which Mary displayed more "choler" than ever. After much



A stylized signature of W. Waad.

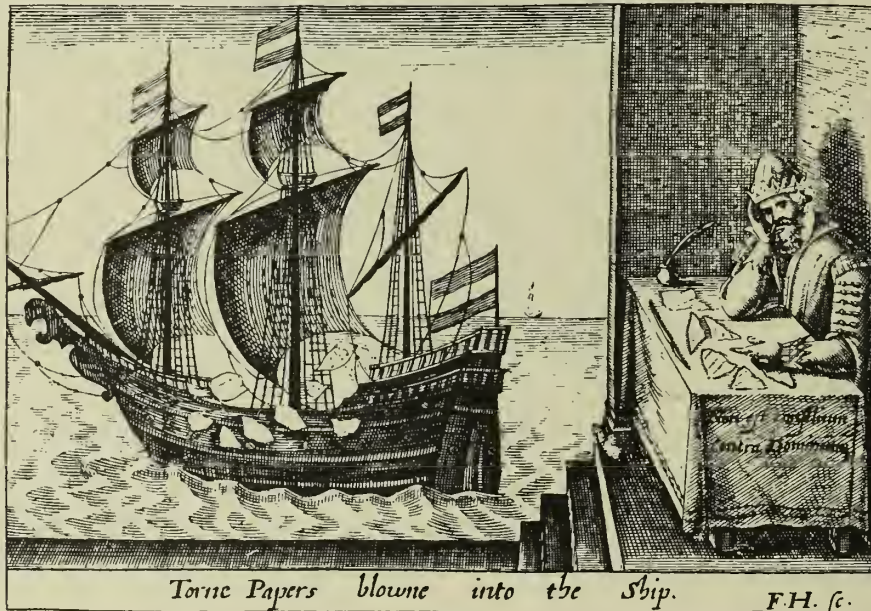
SIR WILLIAM WAAD.

From an old engraving.

more plain speaking, "Waad being intentionally harsh," as Froude puts it, "to prepare for concessions afterwards," she promised to do all that Elizabeth required of her; and if she had remained faithful to that promise it is not unlikely she would have regained her freedom.

But Waad's service in this connection did not end here. In a work quoted by Park, *Carleton's Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy*, it is related that, after Waad's return, Elizabeth "was about to send Sir Walter Mildmay to bring that matter to a farther end. But some terrors and feares broke in

between them, which disturbed that project; especially by a discovery of papers which Creighton, a Scots jesuit, sayling into Scotland, did teare then, when he was taken by Dutch pirates. Creighton tore the papers, and threw them into the sea; but they were by the force of the wind blowne backe again into the shippe, *not without a miracle*, as Creighton himselfe said." A former chaplain to the Bishop of Ross was with Creighton, and the capture was made in the Channel by a Flushing privateer. The priests were taken to London and committed to the Tower, and the torn pieces were brought to Waad. "With much labour and singular skill hee joyned them together



Copy of an illustration from Bishop Carleton's *Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy*, 1624.

again; and found that they contained new practises of the Pope, the Spaniard, the Guises, and a resolution to invade England." The writing was in Italian and contained a full plan of the projected invasion. Under pressure of the rack Creighton made a complete confession. As a consequence, the Queen of Scots, instead of being set free, as otherwise would probably have happened, was consigned to closer durance, and thenceforward her career of historic romance was hurried to its tragic end.

A.D. 1586.

In 1586 Waad was employed on an embassy to the French King, Henry III., to whom he had to disclose the fact that the French Ambassador at London was implicated in a plot against Elizabeth's life, and among other

things demand that Thomas Morgan, the Catholic conspirator, should be given up. Not only was this refused, but on his return Waad was waylaid near Amiens and beaten. In August of that year he was further employed in bringing Mary Stuart to book for her implication in the Babington plot. Having arranged for the Queen's absence on a hunting expedition, he arrested her two secretaries and seized the caskets of papers which led to Mary's condemnation; for which service in "ryding in poste about her Majesties especiall affaires from the Court at Richmond to Chartly . . . and bringing from thence certain persons and carriages," etc., he received "the somme of xxx^{li}." ¹ The next month Mary was at Fotheringay and in the parting message confided to Gorion, her apothecary, for transmission to Philip of Spain, included Waad's name amongst those of her enemies whom she desired him not to forget in the hour of his triumph and vengeance. Waad was not present at the execution, Elizabeth having directed that he "need not go down, as he was only one among others who were at the sealing up of the Scottish queen's caskets." ²

In 1588 William Waad was elected M.P. for Thetford, and in 1601 for Preston. To the end of the reign of Elizabeth, Waad seems to have enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his sovereign, and for a time he was also in high favour with James I., who conferred knighthood on him, appointed him a member of the Privy Council, and in 1605, the year of the Gunpowder Plot, gave him the post of Lieutenant of the Tower. He was made Commissary-General of England, Inspector of the Irish Forces, and Muster-Master-General. Waad was one of the commissioners to hear and determine the case of Walter Raleigh, and occupied a similar position at the trial of Guy Fawkes. ³ During his governorship of the Tower he held Raleigh under imprisonment, and had charge of State trials and executions. Prominent as he is in the history of the time, we have but few glimpses of his private life, and as to his residence at Belsize know scarcely anything. But he was always an active man, and interested himself in local as well as State affairs, we may be sure. There is a letter of his extant asking the Lord Mayor to afford relief from the Maimed Soldiers' Fund to one Robert Middleton, probably a Hampstead man. In 1613 the Earl of Somerset (Rochester) removed Sir William from the Lieutenancy of the Tower. At that time Sir Thomas Overbury was a prisoner in the Tower, and the divorced Countess of Essex, whom Somerset had

¹ State Papers, Domestic, October 8, 1586: The Court at Windsor. ² Acts of the Privy Council, 1586.

³ Contents of Baga de Secretis. Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer.

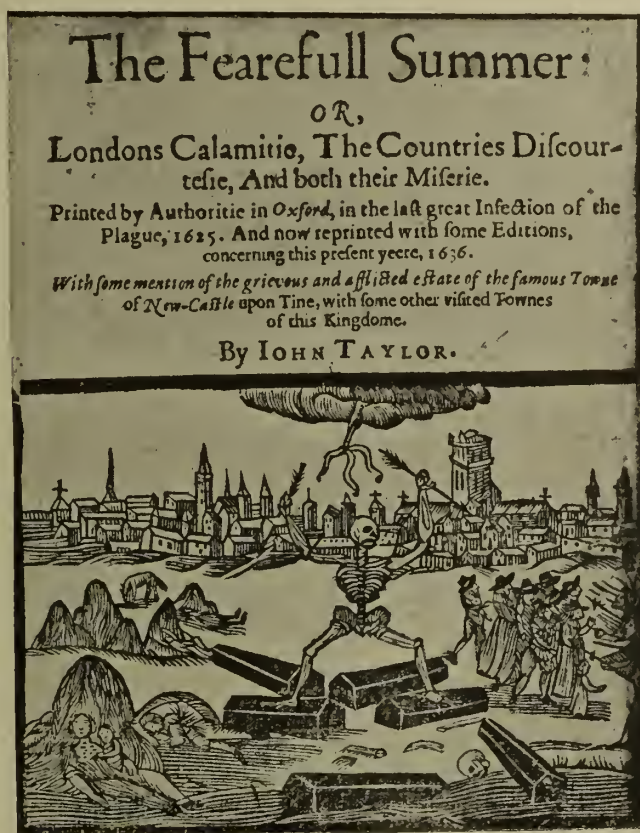
married, desired his death, because he had spoken against her, and it was possibly because Waad was not pliant enough that he was removed, for soon after Overbury was found dead in his cell from poison. It was an easy matter in those days, when favourites ruled rather than kings, for a man in the position of Somerset to rid himself of a too scrupulous official without disclosing the real reason of dismissal. Thus it was urged against Waad that he had become rich and careless, and neglected his office; that he had been too severe with some prisoners and too lenient with others. A creature of Somerset's, Sir Gervase Helvys, succeeded the lord of Belsize at the Tower. That was the last position of kingly favour that Sir William Waad enjoyed. He relinquished his clerkship of the Privy Council in the same year, and then, as his father had done, sought retirement, living partly at his Hampstead home and partly at his manor of Battailes-Waade in Essex.

He was now sixty-seven years of age, and we do not hear much more of him in connection with affairs of State. The few references to him that we find after this represent him as a somewhat weary and neglected courtier. He
 A.D. 1623. died on October 25, 1623, at Battailes-Waade, at the age of 77, and was buried at Manuden Church. He had been twice married, first to Anne, daughter of Owen Waller, and secondly to Anne, daughter of Sir Humphrey Browne.

Among the State Papers of the reign of James I. there are a few letters written by Sir William Waad which attest his residence at Belsize (1596-1603), but throw very little light upon the Hampstead of that day. The letters are to Lord Cecil. In the earliest of these, bearing date June 4, 1596, Sir William excuses himself, "having taken physick to rid me of the relieves of my ague." Others are dated respectively the 27th and the 31st of August and the 1st and the 16th of September 1603.

In the letter of August 27, Sir William Waad sends Cecil "the declaration of Laurence Kemys, Raleigh's servant," referring in the others to the terrible condition of London and the suburbs in consequence of the Plague. He complains that Londoners come from infected places, bringing "bedding and stuff with them, and presume noe man or officer will lay hands on them, because it is knowne the sickness is in their houses, so as the difficulty is, what course should be taken with these men, w^{ch} I thinke must be to binde them to appeare from sessions to sessions until they can be fined, or so binde some (w^{ch} are of the better sorte) to appeare hereafter in the starre chamber and to send some of the meaner persons to the — but no constable will take charge of them. The Cages (both in ye Libertyes and

subburbs) are full of sick folkes, and when they dye, the straw is thrown about the streetes, fresh straw put in and new sicke persons. I have often seen three in one Cage together and people continually about them. Those that are carryed to be buried (if they be of aine sorte) are accompanied as in other times, and the streets strewed wth flowers when Maids of aine sorte ar buried, w^{ch} gathereth people together, and for Batchellors they strewe Rosmary as



THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1625.

Title-page to J. Taylor's *The Fearefull Summer*.

if it were at Marriages. . . . Another very lamentable thing very common : Divers come out of the town and dy under Hedges in the fieldes and in divers places further of, whereof *we have experience weekeley here at Hampsteed* and come in men's yeardes, and outhouses if they be open and dye there." He complains that "on the Hollydays they come forthe of the Citty, in such numbers . . . as if they ment to abandon the Citty w^{ch} must needs spredd the Infeccon, and it were better to Limitt them to the fields about ye Citty."

Sir William admitted that "these things are easier to be complained of than remedydd," but suggested the issuing of a protective Proclamation.

These letters, written from "my house at Hamsted" by Sir William Waad, probably indicate that during the Plague he preferred the safety of Belsize to the dangers of the city, and transacted at his home official business which would otherwise have been performed at the Tower.

Various estimates of Sir William Waad's character seem to have been formed by his contemporaries, who were generally biased by their respective political prejudices. There were not many saints, it must be confessed, in the service of James I. In fact, there was very little honour, honesty, or virtue at Court, in society, or in public life. One writer says of Sir William that, howsoever he "might be one way taxed for his too much desire of wealth, which thing might be tolerated in him, being pressed with a great charge, yet he was wise, honest, and discreet in his place, and discharged it with much more sufficiency than he that succeeded him." Even this praise is qualified by the implied charge of avarice. According to another authority, Sir William was "a scholar himself and a patron to such as were so; being never well but when employing the Industrious, pensioning the Hopeful, and preferring the Deserving."¹

On the other hand, there are accusations of his having tampered with Cobham for the sake of making evidence against Raleigh, and Cobham himself is said to have declared that "that villain Wade" had forged his name to an incriminating document.² The probability is that Sir William Waad was an upright man and a faithful servant of the State, untainted by the vices of the period, though conscious enough of them. If we accept the evidence of his epitaph, as printed in Morant's *History of Essex*, he was a

true watch of state; whose minutes were
Religious thoughts; whose hours heaven's sacred food;
Whose hand still pointed to the kingdom's good
And sovereign safety; whom Ambition's key
Never wound up to guiltines, bribe, or fee.

From certain particulars which have more recently come to light, it would seem that the reputation of Sir William Waad as Lieutenant of the Tower was scarcely so high as had been supposed. In his eight years' governorship he

¹ Lloyd's *State Worthies*, 2nd ed., 1670. The same authority states that *Rider's Dictionary* was due to Sir William's "directions"; *Hooker's Policy* to his "encouragement"; and *Gruter's Inscriptions* to his "charge."

² *Memorials of the Tower of London*, Lieut.-General Lord de Ros, 1867.

is said to have exercised unnecessary severity upon many prisoners. At the time of Waad's entrance on his new dignity Raleigh was confined in the Bloody Tower. Under the rule of Sir George Harvey, Waad's predecessor, Sir Walter had enjoyed many privileges, being visited by his wife and children, and allowed to engage in writing his *History of the World*; but Waad suddenly put an end to Raleigh's relaxations. It was said that he had a personal dislike to Raleigh. It is probable, however, that what he did was at the bidding of his master. James I. was sometimes in residence at the Tower in those days—the last monarch who occupied the building.

No excuse can be found for Waad's torturing of prisoners. Perhaps the worst instance is the suffering to which he put three Jesuit priests—Garnet, Oldcome, and Gerard—supposed to be accomplices of Guy Fawkes. Garnet and Oldcome were firm under the ordeal, and were put to death in the usual horrible manner. It was suspected that Gerard could make important disclosures if only forced to speak, and a special course of torture was inflicted. He was taken into a subterranean chamber and hung up by the wrists. Being a heavy man, the pain he endured was intense. While in this position he was plied by Waad with question after question for over an hour. The prisoner several times fainted; but not a word of confession would he speak. Furious at this obstinacy, Waad exclaimed, "Hang there, then, till you rot!" and left him. When at sunset the bell in the Bell Tower intimated to the commissioners that it was time to quit the fortress for the day, Waad allowed the agonised priest to crawl to his cell at the top of the Salt Tower. On other days the torture was renewed, with the same result. Another authority¹ says that on one occasion Sir William Waad, "hard and brutal as he was, refused to allow the torture to be repeated." Before the final death sentence could be carried out upon Gerard, he and another Roman Catholic named Arden, by the aid of friends outside, contrived to escape to the river, where a boat was awaiting them, and when next Gerard was heard of it was from the safe sanctuary of Rome.

The Waad connection with Belsize continued for some time after the death of Sir William, whose will was proved in November 1623 by Lady Anne Waad, his "relict and executrix," and afterwards by his son James, a godson of James I., on his attaining age in 1629. The testator left his Belsize and St. John's Wood properties to James Waad absolutely, subject to his mother's right of residence during his minority, and if James died before coming of age

A.D. 1629.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Lady Anne was to have a life interest in the estates, with remainder to Alice Waad, a daughter. It appears that James entered into possession, and afterwards, in 1633, made a grant of his interest to his mother, in whom the Belsize lease became absolutely vested. In 1642 she surrendered the old lease due to expire in 1655, and procured from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster a fresh lease for twenty-one years.

The year 1642 was an important period in the history of the country no less than in the life of Lady Anne Waad, who had encountered and yielded to newer influences. Civil war had broken out, and Lady Anne had become the wife of Colonel Thomas Bushell,¹ who also had been previously married. Bushell had been farmer of the royal mines, and was a man of parts, whose past had been marked by many strange adventures and enterprises. He was then nearing his fiftieth year, while Lady Anne must have been of still more mature years. Apart from other considerations, the two would be drawn together by Royalist sympathies, and it is more than probable that the taking of the new lease of Belsize had its prompting in the desire to raise money for Bushell's equipment for the King's army. It formed a tangible security on which money could be borrowed, and, curious to say, the lender was Serjeant Wilde, the prominent judicial functionary on the Parliamentary side, and then a leading resident of Hampstead. The sum borrowed was £1500.

A.D. 1642.

Bushell started out from Belsize in July 1642, and his departure would cause no little stir on Hampstead Hill. He joined the King at York, speeding away in high spirits, while Lady Anne wished him "God-speed" on his gallant quest. That he should be on the Royalist side was natural. In his younger days, when in the service of Sir Francis Bacon, and accompanying the Lord Keeper to court, he had attracted the notice of James I. by the splendour of his attire, and later, had gained the favour of Charles I. by his ingenuity. Extravagant and eccentric as he was, his good qualities inspired attention. Bacon "several times" paid Bushell's debts, as Bushell himself confessed; a generosity which would hardly have been shown to one who was undeserving.

On Bacon's disgrace, and again after his death, Bushell saw fit to retire for a time from public view. He spent his first period of self-exile on the Isle of Wight disguised as a fisherman. For the first part of the second period, 1626-29, he concealed himself in a hut 470 feet above the sea, "in the desolated isle called the 'Calf of Man,'" living, by way of penance for past dissoluteness, on "a parsimonious diet of herbs, oil, mustard, and honey."

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Tiring of this solitude and fare, he betook himself to a small estate he owned at Road Enston, near Woodstock, where he constructed a series of caverns, waterfalls, and other artificial devices among the rocks, and the fame of these diversions spread to such an extent that Charles I. visited him there more than once. At the King's request he afterwards returned to London and took charge of the royal mines. Then came the Civil War, and his marriage with the widow of Sir William Waad; when instead of having the leisure to turn Belsize into an ingenious playground, as under other circumstances he might have done, he had to venture out to the battlefield. But for this forsaking of the arts of peace for those of war Colonel Bushell would have figured more prominently in the Hampstead story than he was destined to do. Even so he had by no means done with Hampstead.

What exactly happened to Belsize in the next few years is not altogether clear; but in 1643 we find Serjeant Wilde, the mortgagee, installed as receiver A.D. 1643. of the rents of Belsize, evidently under the authority of Parliament, the tenants having refused to pay their rents to the Serjeant until a provisional order was issued instructing them to pay him and "no other."¹ The fact of Serjeant Wilde's possession may have prevented the sequestration of the estate, although as far as the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, the lessors, were concerned they had already been declared delinquents and their benefices seized.²

Meanwhile Bushell was faring bravely in the face of odds for King Charles, holding Lundy Island for him and doing many other serviceable duties, for which he received his Majesty's special thanks. But the time came when there was no longer a royal cause to fight for, and Bushell had to go into hiding again. At Belsize matters had gone from bad to worse. John Holgate, who had married William Waad's daughter Mary, was in nominal possession, and there were troubles with the Committee for Removing Obstructions in the sale of Dean and Chapter lands. The Committee arranged a lower rent for Holgate; but the contractors enforced the full value.³ It was about this time that Colonel Downes the Parliamentarian (more particularly referred to in Chapter VII.) became tenant of Belsize.

Then in 1661, after the Restoration, when a fresh shuffling of the cards A.D. 1661. of power took place, and Wilde and Downes were no longer men of authority, Colonel Bushell reappears upon the scene and petitions for a renewal to himself of the Belsize lease, then within two years of expiration, resting his

¹ Commons Journals, iii. 142, June 24, 1643.

² Scobell's *Collection of Ordinances*.

³ Commons Journals, viii. 117, 1651.

claim on the ground of his great service to Charles I., and of his credit being "ingaged in the redemption of the said Mannor." The King thereupon recommended the Dean and Chapter to renew the lease according to the petition,¹ but the recommendation was not acted upon; nor was a later petition of Bushell's to be restored to possession of "the parsonage and rectory of Enston," which he claimed to have had "in marriage with his first wife." Extravagant claims seem to have been a weakness of Bushell's. When at a later date a dispute arose between the miners of Cardiganshire and the Earl of Rutland, then lessee of the mines, Bushell took the side of the miners, endeavouring to show that the mines yielded great profit, alleging that he himself had made sufficient money by twelve years' working of them to enable him "to clothe the whole army of Charles I. and to accommodate his Majesty with a loan of £40,000."² The same year the lease of the Belsize estate was granted away from the Waad family altogether.

The new lessee was Colonel Daniel O'Neill, third husband of the beautiful Catherine, Lady Stanhope and Countess of Chesterfield. This lady had been governess to Mary, Princess Royal, daughter of Charles I. Her first husband was Sir Henry Stanhope, heir of the first Earl of Chesterfield. Stanhope, by whom she had one son, who became second Earl of Chesterfield, died in 1634, and for the next few years there were many suitors for the hand of the fascinating widow, among them Vandyk, who had painted her portrait. In 1641, however, she was married to John Kirkhoven, Lord of Henfleet and chief forester of Holland, and remained with him at the Hague during the civil troubles in England, being a prominent member of Charles II.'s entourage during his exile in the Netherlands. She was a zealous and daring royalist, and risked much for the cause, venturing to England in 1658, when she was arrested and kept in confinement for some time as a suspect. Liberated in June 1659 she rejoined her husband in Holland, where she saw much of the gallant O'Neill, who, like herself, was a fearless plotter, as he had been a dashing fighter, for Charles. The next year was a year of events, the year of the Restoration, of the death of Kirkhoven, of the return of Catherine and O'Neill, and others of the faithful, and of the distribution of the rewards of loyalty. Catherine was made Countess of Chesterfield for life and entered the service of the Duchess of York. O'Neill was the recipient of grants of land, monopolies, and appointments,

¹ Bushell had certain mining privileges granted to him by Charles II., by whom he was held in regard until his death in 1674. He was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

² Malkin's *Scenery of South Wales*.

all of which tended to his enrichment. A valuable plot of land 1400 feet in length between St. James's Park and Pall Mall—possibly the site of the present Carlton House Terrace—was given to him; he was appointed captain of the King's troop, postmaster-general, accountant for the regulation of alehouses, sole manufacturer of gunpowder to the Crown, lessee of the profits of all mines north of the Trent, and, in addition had bestowed upon him a personal pension of £500 a year, being also elected M.P. for St. Ives.

With part of the wealth he thus acquired, as Evelyn tells us,¹ O'Neill built, at a vast expense, a new Belsize House, and marrying Lady Chesterfield in 1663 took her to live in the Hampstead mansion, where her son, now second A.D. 1663. Earl of Chesterfield, and something of a duellist and gallant, occasionally lived.

Thus in the evening of their days these two staunch adherents of the house of Stuart, in the enjoyment of a picturesque country seat, whose park was a mile round and graced with deer, could fight their battles o'er again, living in retirement and yet within easy reach of Court, of which both continued to be honoured members to the last.

O'Neill and his wife would for a brief time be the great personages of Hampstead. The Colonel was the son of a famous Con O'Neill, and had fought with distinction in most of the battles of the Civil War, suffering capture and making daring escapes on two occasions,—the last time disguised in female attire. He died on October 24, 1664, to the genuine regret of his many friends. Charles II. wrote: "This morning poor O'Neill died of an ulcer in the guts! he was as honest a man as ever lived. I am sure I have lost a good servant by it." Pepys penned the following note on the event: "This day the great Oneale died! I believe to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland," in allusion to O'Neill's early forsaking of the Roman Catholic faith.

A nickname that was given to him, "Infallible Subtle," implied something of a compliment to his diplomacy.

By his will O'Neill, who described himself as "one of the groomes of his Majesties bedchamber," gave unto "Katherine Countess of Chesterfield" his "deare wife" all his interest and estate in "the Manor of Bell Sise," as well as the whole benefit which might be "made of the post office," in which he desired "Sir Henry Bennett to help her." He also gave her "the term yet to come in the place and employment of making and providing powder for his Majesties Stores, Sir William Legge my deare friend to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of proceeds for helping her."

¹ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Bray, ii. 106.

Among other bequests he left £100 towards the repair of St. Paul's ; this was two years before its destruction in the Great Fire.

Lady Chesterfield exchanged the powder privilege for a pension of £3000 a year, but retained in her own hands the postmaster-generalship, for which £21,000 a year had to be paid to the Crown, all surplus profit, which must have been considerable, going to the lessee. There were certain restrictions as to the charges to be imposed for the carriage of letters, but beyond that the farming monopolist had a free hand.

The countess did not long survive O'Neill, dying on April 9, 1667, at Belsize, of dropsy. There is a realistic reference to her last illness in the diary of her eldest son, then Earl of Chesterfield, who wrote :

I lived at Belsize with my mother, who after the bleeding of several quarts of blood at the nose, became dropsicall, languished, and at last (without any paine) died, having perfectly her senses to the last moment. Shee told me just before shee died, that nobody could dey with less paine than she had ; but, that shee found a terrible and unusuall melancholy and oppression upon her, which she knew was death, and that she felt a circle about her hart, which greu less ; and, when that came quite to close, her breath would be gone.

A.D. 1666.

The Countess's will, dated December 15, 1666, and proved shortly after her death, is an interesting document. She expressed the desire, subsequently fulfilled, of being buried in the parish church of Boughton Malherbe in Kent, "the inheritance of her forefathers," near the body of her "late dear husband Daniel Oneale." Belsize was given to Henry Kirkhoven, Lord Wotton, her son by her second husband, to whom also she granted her post office privileges, the annuity of £3000 in respect of the gunpowder monopoly being divided between the two sons. The countess seems to have had a great affection for Honora O'Hara, O'Neill's niece, to whom she gave £3000, also making provision for her guardianship, and desiring that "when she is of age it may please God that my son Charles Henry Lord Wotton should make her his wife, to the end that she and the issue coming between them may have the benefit of what is to come from my deare husband and myself"; adding, "I only wish it and will not impose any authority." But it was not to be. Lord Wotton married Frances, daughter of Lord Willoughby, and what became of the fair Honora I have not been able to gather.

From a "schedule of various other legacies" included in the countess's will, and written in her own hand, one or two items may be culled.

She bequeaths to the King her "greate Pursland Pott" in her "gallery at Belsize," and her "Black Indian Screene;" to the Queen her "mistris" her

“two wyre worked silver Candlesticks and perfuming pott”; and to the poor of Hampstead £100.¹ She states that there is £1000 in her house at Hampstead, £800 of which was for the renewing of the lease of her manor of Belsize. It would appear that there were also gifts to her son Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, mention being made in his will of 1713 of “the fine Lynnen which came from Bellsiz house near Hamstead,” this linen being included among the family heirlooms.

Lord Wotton resided at Belsize for a number of years between his mother’s death and 1681, being created Earl of Bellamont in the peerage of Ireland in the previous year. He made much of the house, adding greatly to its internal attractions, and devoting himself with such success to the improvement of the gardens as to bring them into considerable note.

When Pepys visited the house in 1668 he wrote that the gardens were A.D. 1668. “wonderful fine,” but “too good for the house,” being “indeed the most noble I ever saw, and have orange trees and lemon trees.” Evelyn, seeing the place later, did not think so well of the gardens. After visiting Belsize in 1676 on his way to town from Enfield, he wrote: “We returned in the evening by Hamsted, and turned to see Lord Wotton’s house and garden (Belsize House), built with vast expense by Mr. O’Neale, an Irish gentleman who married Lord Wotton’s mother, Lady Stanhope. The furniture is very particular for Indian cabinets, porcelaine, and other solid and noble moveables. The gallery very fine; the gardens very large but ill-kept, yet woody and chargeable; the soil a cold, weeping clay, not answering the expense.”

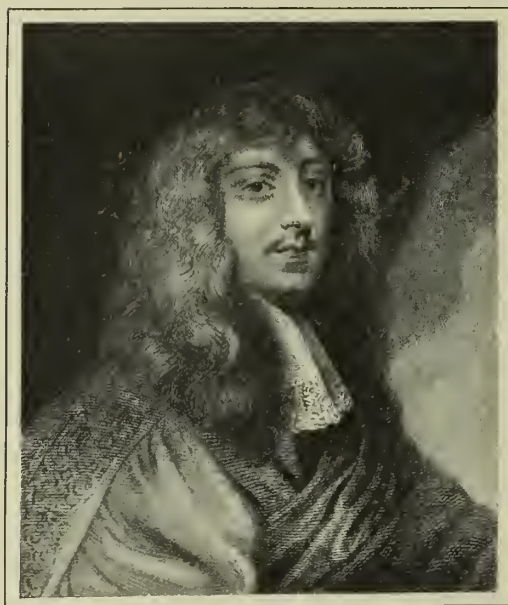
Lord Wotton died in 1682, without issue, and Belsize devolved upon Philip, A.D. 1682. second Earl of Chesterfield, his half-brother, who resided there occasionally.

By his will Lord Wotton directed that his wife was to have her jointure out of all his lands except Belsize, and out of the rents of that estate a dinner was to be provided every year, at a cost not exceeding £5, for the Dean and Chapter of Westminster (of whom the manor was held) and his executors, or so many of them as could conveniently come, “to view the house, gardens, orchards, and out-buildings, to the end that the same may be preserved and kept in good repair and order.”

The second Earl of Chesterfield died in 1713, and although the Belsize A.D. 1713. property remained in the Chesterfield family down to 1807, for the greater part of the eighteenth century the estate was in the hands of sub-tenants,

¹ I have not been able to find any record of the application of this bequest. Properly invested it would have been yielding a considerable income by this time.

some of whom were not interested in maintaining its old residential status. Philip Dormer Stanhope, the fourth earl, and author of the famous *Letters to His Son*, was owner of Belsize from 1726 to his death in 1773, obtaining renewals of the lease in 1733 and in 1751; but my researches have not been rewarded by any glimpse of the figure of this many-sided man in direct association with the life of the locality. By his will of 1772 he devised the estate to the fifth earl, his godson. It was this nobleman who in 1807 obtained an Act of Parliament empowering him to sell the property. From the recitals of this A.D. 1786. Act we gather that on June 21, 1786, the earl obtained a renewal of the Belsize



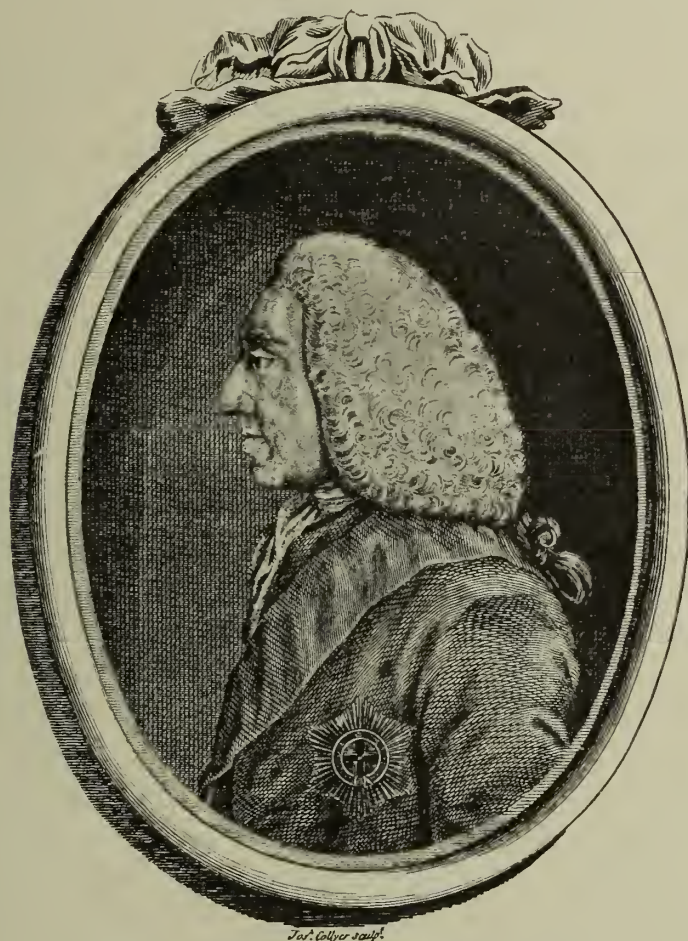
PHILIP, SECOND EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

After the painting by Sir Peter Lely.

lease for the lives of himself, H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales, and another; and it appeared that he now desired power to sell the property, the money to be derived therefrom to be used in purchasing other estates. For our purpose the most interesting feature of the enactment is the schedule of particulars, containing descriptions of the properties comprised in the Hampstead holding of the Chesterfields.

The mansion itself, with garden, orchard, park, and land, was set down as containing 42 a., 3 r., and 13 p., and was let to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval at a yearly rent of £237:10s. A farm and lands nearly 45 acres in extent, in the occupation of William Rothery, yielded a rental of £220; for another

farm of 36 acres, held by Thomas Allaby, £176:9s. was paid yearly; and for a house, cottage, barn, and lands in the occupation of John Holyland, 40 acres in extent, £160. Mr. Milligan paid £121 a year for a dwelling-house—this would be Rosslyn House, farm, and lands; Mr. Pryor, £35:16s. for a house,



PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE
EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

From an Original Model by M^r. Gosset.¹

garden, and lands; Mr. Compeigne, £101 for two houses, orchard, and gardens; Thomas Roberts, £40 for three houses, garden, and intake; B. H.

¹ Isaac Gosset (1713-99) was a well-known wax-portrait modeller, and the above print was taken from one of his intaglios. His brother, Jacob Gosset, lived in Church Row, Hampstead; died there in 1788, and was buried in the adjoining churchyard.

English held houses, gardens, and land, for which he paid £92:11:6; and for the Red Lion Public House, no occupant named, £30 a year was paid. The total rental was £1221:3s.; the total extent a little over 233 acres.

A.D. 1807.

The result was the purchase in the year 1807 of the whole of the above properties by four Hampstead gentlemen—Germain Lavie, James Abel, Thomas Roberts, and Thomas Forsyth, by arrangement with the Dean and Chapter, whereupon the new owners proceeded to divide the estate up, the mansion being reserved for residential purposes.

Although the Waad family had no legal interest in Belsize after 1661, for years subsequent to that date there was litigation amongst themselves in respect of Belsize transactions.

Lady Anne had died in 1644, administration of her estate being granted to her daughter Alice and her husband, Philip Cage, who took possession and for a time received the rents of Belsize. But Lady Anne was deeply in debt at her decease, and in order to save Belsize to the family John Holgate stepped in, paid Wilde his principal and interest, and thenceforward seems to have managed both the Belsize and St. John's Wood properties left by his father-in-law. Later there were family complications, the Cages charging Holgate with having taken the profits of the estate for his own purposes, made "secret conveyances," and otherwise acted as if he had no responsibility to his relatives the Cages. While these proceedings were in progress Philip Cage died, and Penelope Stanton, widow, his daughter, took up the case as his and Lady Anne's legal representative. To all these charges Holgate made answer that he had been a purchaser of Belsize for a valuable consideration, and that his title was absolute and untrammelled by condition. He further stated that he had paid Serjeant Wilde £1720 in all, besides discharging certain other "real incumbrances made by the Lady Waad upon the manor of Bellsis, to wit, to one Stevenson £400," and to one Woodward £310—that, in fact, he had paid out far in excess of the worth of the estate. He also made an informing reference to Colonel Downes, in respect of whose treason he said a moiety of the estate had been forfeited, and he had been necessitated to sell the same "under the title of the then pretended State being under sequestration for his loyalty." It transpired in the course of these proceedings that Lady Anne Waad had let Belsize at a rental of £216 per annum.

This protracted lawsuit did not yield Penelope Stanton either money or comfort. Holgate appears to have won at every stage. He denied that there

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. xiii., No. 95.

² *Ibid.* No. 96.

had been any trust implied in taking over the estate from Wilde, contending that he had stepped in to secure himself for money due from Lady Waad, part being for money lent, and part due from her as dowry with his wife. Mrs. Stanton finally petitioned the House of Lords, but met with no better fate. Holgate pleaded that £335:16:9 was still due to him, which the petitioner was unable to pay, and the House ultimately affirmed the defendant's plea and dismissed the appeal.¹

Among the Hampstead property owners of the later Waad period were the White family. Evidence of this is afforded by a beautiful brass in the church of St. Mary Cray, Kent, showing the figures of Richard Manning and his wife. Above their heads is a shield bearing the name of the Mannings, with a crescent, and at the foot the following inscription:

Here lyeth buried the body of Richard Manning sone of John Manning, gent., who tooke to wife Rachael one of y^e daughters and coheyres of William White of Hamsted in Middlesex with whome havynge happily lyved to the service of God and reliefe of the poore 29 yeares in the 63rd yeare of his age he dyed without issue the 18 of January 1604. His wife yet surviving purposeth by God's permission to be here interred by him at her death in whose fellowship she enjoyed y^e comfort of her life.

The sequel is to be read in the Wills Office, where is recorded the death of Rachel Feerby of Pawlins Cray in Kent, on February 18, 1625, and proof of her will on March 28 of that year. The will refers to certain copyhold lands and tenements in "Hamsted, Middlesex, being my own inheritance," and gives directions for her burial "in the chancel of the church of St. Mary Cray, by my former husband Mr. Richard Manninge."²

Another member of the Hampstead White family, Elizabeth White, daughter of Robert White, is mentioned in Colonel Chester's *Marriage Licences*, as having been married to William Millet of Harrow, July 7, 1627, at St. James's, Clerkenwell, "the bride being 35, and the groom 30."

Before continuing the narrative from the point of view of Belsize, which was destined to be associated a few years later with a remarkable change in the life of Hampstead, we must turn back a little and deal with the developments in Hampstead as a whole.

¹ Historical MSS. Commission, House of Lords, Calendar 1670, 1; Lords Journals, xii. 467, 471, and MS. Minutes.

² Hele. 33, Somerset House Register of Wills.

CHAPTER VI

UNDER THE STUART CAMPDENS

Stuart Days—Great Changes—New Residents—Sir Baptist Hickes and the City—Hickes's Hall—Hickes in Parliament—James I.—The Chicken House—King of Bohemia—Sir Baptist Hickes created Lord Campden—Death of Lord Campden—Church Endowment—A Hampstead prosecution—Lady Campden's Gifts—The Campdens fight for Charles I.—Adrian May's Petition—Parliamentary Confiscation—The Third Viscount Campden in the Field—Lord Campden a Prisoner—Fines and Petitions—Provision for the Minister—Martyn Dawson—The Campdens and the Restoration—Lord Noel, Earl of Gainsborough—Sir William Langhorne—Origin of the Wells Charity.



IF the Elizabethan age was an age of great economic expansion, the times of the Stuarts were times of grave economic disaster. None of the Stuart kings comprehended the real spirit of the English people ; and to this misunderstanding they owed their successive failures, and the country its temporary deprivation of constitutional rights. Still, in spite of monopolies, civil wars, and crippling duties and imposts, the work of transforming England from a land of agriculture to a land of trade and manufactures was not allowed to pause, except for very brief periods. There was too much at stake to permit of any serious deviation from the path of commercial conquest. The trading community were now strong enough to compel governmental co-operation. The aspect of things had changed.

Flemings and French Huguenots had settled in the country in large numbers, and by their aid important industries had been established. England's association with wool—the most valuable of its native commodities—had until this time been chiefly that of growing and exporting it ; now it was no longer sent abroad to be made into foreign fabrics, but was kept in England to be manufactured, both for home consumption and for export.

This change affected the whole of the kingdom. Hampstead was influenced by it to the extent of its people becoming imbued with the new spirit of independence and responsibility that industrial pursuits fostered. London was transformed into a huge trading mart. With the growth of individual wealth her citizens aspired to greater luxury of living, and a healthy suburb like Hampstead offered inducements for residence that were not to be resisted. Thus, as we have already seen, the stamp of residential distinction gradually came to be impressed upon the village.

There were now many Hampstead residents besides the landowners and the villagers. Houses had been built for the accommodation of personages of the Court in the hunting and hawking seasons. Moreover, Londoners generally went out holiday-making to Hampstead in great numbers. The Plague had taught them a better appreciation of the advantages of fresh air.

The value of land was steadily increasing. On this point there is a suggestive entry in the Calendar of State Papers under date February 23, 1597. One Richard Williams writes to Mrs. Harcourt at Cobham Hall as A.D. 1597. follows :

“You may safely get her ladyship to sign a lease for the bearer of some marsh land, as will pay her 20 nobles more than it was let for before, but let him give you an angel¹ or two for your pains. You must keep for my Lady the counterpart of the bond. I enclose another lease to myself of *certain lands in Hampstead* which you must also get signed, and I will do twice as much for you.”

After the passing of the Waads from Belsize the most distinguished person connected with Hampstead was the new lord of the manor, Sir Baptist Hickes, a prominent city mercer of great wealth, who owed title and royal favour mainly to his being able to accommodate the King and the Scots nobles with costly silks and loans of money. Numerous large sums were lent to his Majesty by Sir Baptist during the next few years ; bonds bearing his name for £150,000, £120,000, and other amounts, making up an enormous total, are mentioned in the State records of the period.² On being knighted in 1604 it was expected that Sir Baptist would follow the usage in such cases, and relinquish shopkeeping ; but he had the good sense to decline to be ruled by what he looked upon as an indefensible custom, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the Court of Aldermen, who insisted

¹ A coin of the time worth 10s., and bearing the figure of an angel.

² Calendar State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-10.

that his rank precluded him from continuing his shopkeeping. Sir Baptist was a strong-willed man. Not only did he keep his business going, but he also offended the civic authorities by refusing the honours they themselves would have conferred upon him. In 1611 they elected him alderman for Bread Street Ward ; but at the suggestion of the King, it is said, he paid the forfeit fee of £500 and politely intimated that he did not desire the office. Higher dignities were doubtless in prospect, and, secure of the King's approval, he could afford to snap his fingers at the London Corporation. At all events, he fell into conflict with that body, and endeavoured to teach them a lesson in dignity by claiming precedence, in virtue of his knighthood, over the members of the Court of Aldermen themselves at great public functions. This led to much dispute and costly litigation. Both sides were obstinate, and the contention was prolonged until it became an object of public ridicule. Then the matter was permitted to drop without any formal settlement at all.

Sir Baptist Hickea's interest in public affairs, however, was keen, and he kept himself well in the current of preferment. In 1609 he was contractor for Crown lands. Whatever office he filled he made prominent. He was the most active of the Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, and took upon himself in 1612, according to Dugdale, "at his own charge," to erect "a fair piece of building, brick and stone, in the midst of the street, called St. John's Street, Clerkenwell, part thereof to be a meeting place, for the Justices of the county, for the holding of their sessions ; and the other part a prison, or house of correction : whereupon it had the name of Hickea's Hall." This was the origin of what was afterwards known as the Clerkenwell Sessions House, the Hickea building existing until 1788. The designation Hickea's Hall was passed on from the old building to the new one, the name occurring in sessions reports down to the third decade of the nineteenth century, if not later. In 1612 Sir Baptist was associated with Sir William Waad of Belsize and others in purchasing from the Virginia Company for £20,000 the Somer Islands (the Bermudas), which two years later they surrendered to the Crown.

A.D. 1620. In 1620 a baronetcy was conferred upon Sir Baptist Hickea, and it was in that year that he purchased the manor of Hampstead, as already mentioned, from John Wroth. The same year saw him elected Member of Parliament for Tavistock, and among the minor offices filled by him was that of Royal Commissioner to enquire into the decay of old St. Paul's. From 1624 to 1626 he represented Tewkesbury in the House of Commons.

We have an interesting note regarding a Hampstead pew dispute tried at Fulham Palace in 1618, for the settlement of which the Bishop of London's court was appealed to.¹ The disputants were, on the one side, John Lockerson and his wife, and on the other, Henry Fleetwood and his daughters. It was testified by two witnesses that Lockerson had been placed in the pew some nine or ten years previously by one of the churchwardens, and that Mrs. Lockerson had been placed there at the request of Sir Wm. Waad. For the Fleetwoods it was contended that the pew was attached to their house, which had been bought from Mrs. Weeke. The result was a compromise, the rights of the pew being accorded to Mrs. Lockerson and the two eldest daughters of Fleetwood; "the two other daughters to be placed elsewhere."

Whether anything beyond the general attractiveness and salubrity of Hampstead led Sir Baptist Hickes to purchase the manor from John Wroth does not appear; but it is worthy of note that on August 25 of the preceding year—1619—the year following the execution of Raleigh and the year preceding the impeachment of Bacon—King James visited Hampstead with his profligate favourite, Buckingham, and slept the night at the old Chicken House which stood on what is now called Rosslyn Hill. According to local tradition it was one of the King's hunting seats; but it is more likely it was a private residence, and that the object of his Majesty's visit was to do honour to the owner of the mansion. This would explain the importance attached to the unusual event, which was commemorated by an inscription beneath an ornamental glass portrait of his Majesty, together with one of Buckingham, in separate panels, painted on a window in the Chicken House. The inscription beneath the royal portrait read:

Icy dans cette chambre coucha
nostre Roy Jacques, premier de nom.
Le 25 Aoust
1619.

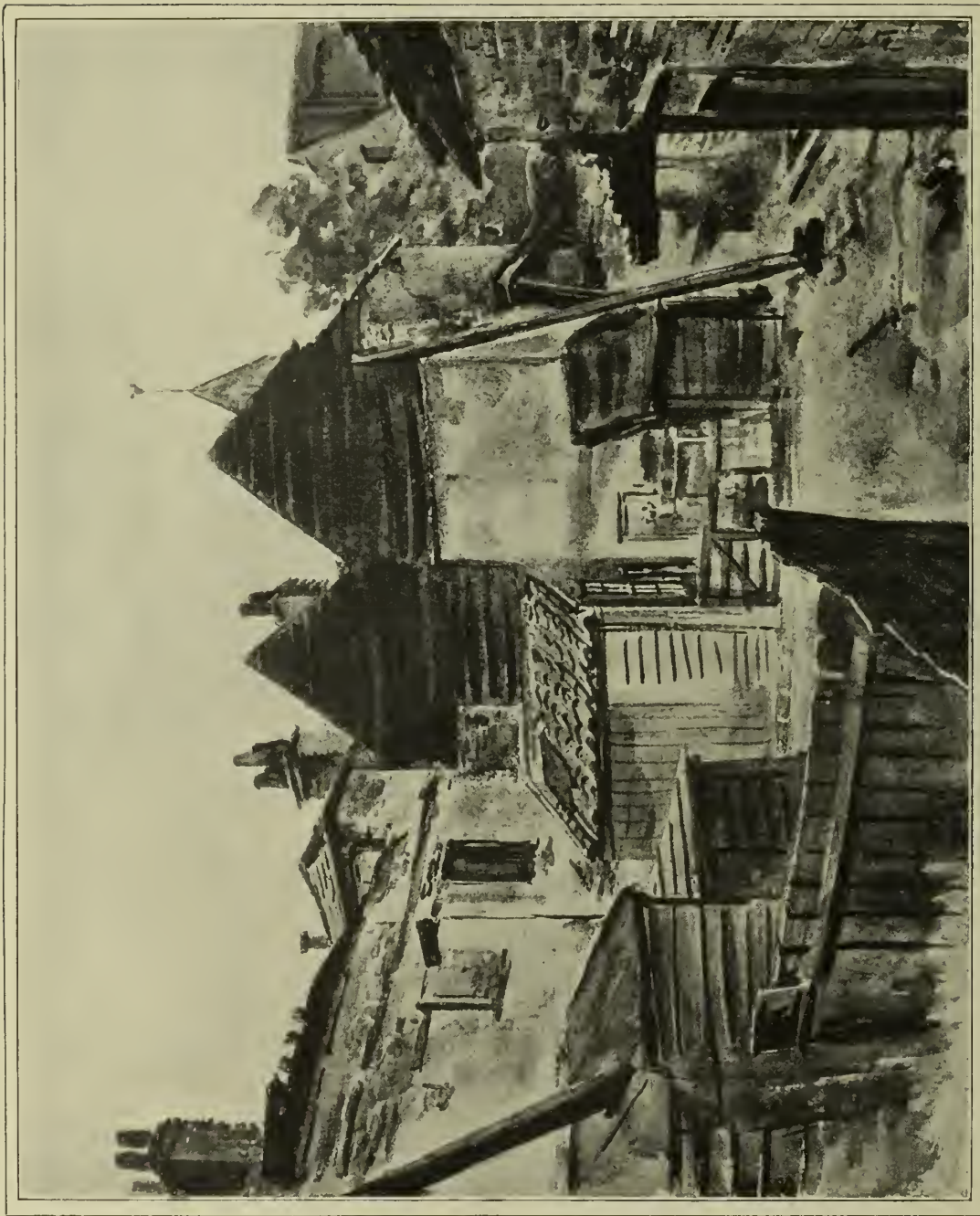
Surrounding the portrait were the customary titular words:

POTENTISS. IACOBUS D. G. MAG. BRITANNIA GAL. ET
HIBER. REX. FIDEI DEFENSOR.

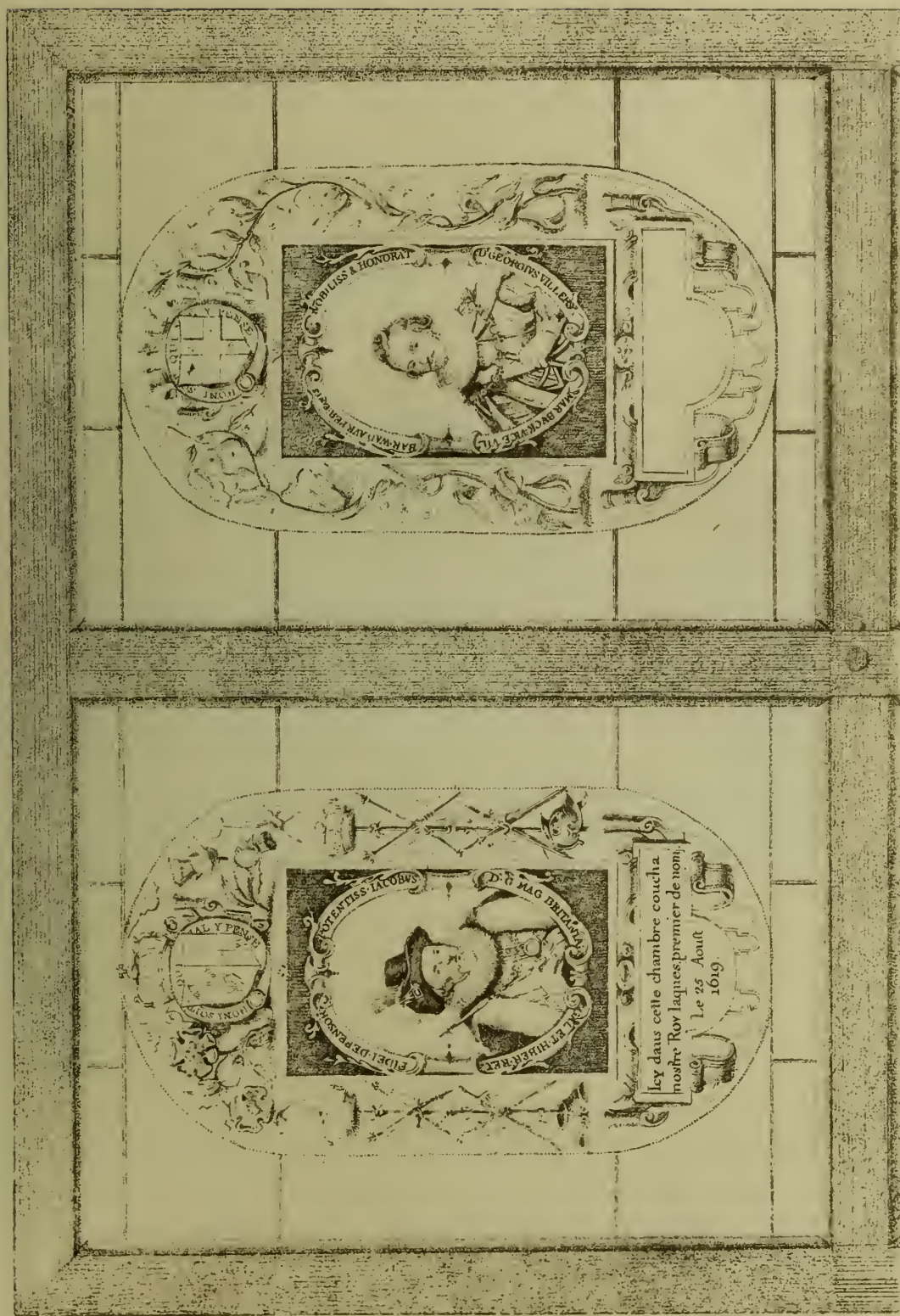
On a panel of a similar size, to the right of this, was the portrait of the Duke of Buckingham, with the surrounding inscription:

NOBILISS. & HONORAT. D'. GEORGIUS VILLERS
MAR. BUCK. VICE. VIL. BAR. WAD. AUR. PER. EQUES.

¹ Bodleian Library MS., Rawlinson, D 818, f. 72.



VIEW OF THE OLD CHICKEN HOUSE, HAMPSTEAD, TAKEN FROM THE YARD AT THE REAR, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST, 1886.
From a water-colour drawing in the Cotes Collection.



Drawn from the Window by W.P. Sherlock

Upper Compartment of a Window in the Chicken House, Hampstead.

In another window, according to Brewer,¹ there was a representation of our Saviour in the arms of Simeon.

Long before the Chicken House was finally demolished, now more than a quarter of a century ago, these historic panes of glass were removed, and afterwards formed part of the collection of Sir Thomas Neave² at Branch Hill Lodge, a collection which also included a large number of rare specimens



VIEW OF THE CHICKEN HOUSE, HAMPSTEAD, 1797.

One of Malcolm's views issued to extra-illustrate Lysons's *Environs of London*.

obtained from various French and other convents and churches, after the French Revolution had been the means of dispersing many relics of this description. That the house was of some size and standing is evident from the fact

¹ *Beauties of England and Wales*, xiv. 195.

² This glass was removed to Sir Thomas Neave's Hampstead residence, Branch Hill Lodge, and afterwards to the family seat at Dagnam Park, Romford. The present baronet, Sir Thomas Lewis Hughes Neave, informs me that the glass is still in his possession, and has very kindly had attempts made to photograph it for me, but without success, because of the unfavourable position of the window in which it is inserted. I have therefore had to fall back on a reproduction of the plate contained in Park's *History*. In comparing the actual glass with the full-page collotype plate here given, Sir Thomas Neave informs me that the latter is correct in every detail except that the blank space underneath the Duke's portrait is now filled in with a scroll design.

that in its later days it was converted to the purposes of lodging and entertainment. Lord Mansfield, when Mr. Murray, working his way up in



OLD COURT, NOW DEMOLISHED, ON ROSSLYN HILL, SHOWING THE
STAIRCASE OF THE CHICKEN HOUSE.

From a photograph taken about 1880.

the law, used to make it his abode, with other students and young men from town; and it was at the Chicken House that Samuel Gale, the antiquary, lodged for a while, dying there in 1754. Its subsequent history is hardly

worth mention. It became a resort of thieves and tramps, and in 1766,



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE CHICKEN HOUSE.

From a water-colour drawing after John Ireland in the Coates Collection.

Howitt tells us, Francis Parsons, the landlord of the house, was arrested



AN OINTMENT JAR OF LAMBETH WARE, 1700, DUG UP ON CHICKEN HOUSE SITE, IN 1890.

In the possession of Mr. E. E. Newton.

for pocket-picking and found to be worth £700. "He used to keep good wines at the house, and the security of the thieves—his companions—was

so much consulted, that five or six doors had to be passed through before they could be reached. In the meantime they escaped out of the windows, and went off across the Heath." Both the house and its immediate neighbourhood fell into a dingy and disorderly condition prior to the rebuilding of this part of Hampstead. The Chicken House stood on a site nearly opposite the present Police Station.

Another reminder of Jacobean days is the building and sign of the inn



THE KING OF BOHEMIA, ABOUT 1899, TAKEN FROM GREENHILL.

From a sketch by W. Wilks.

called "The King of Bohemia," on the right as High Street is entered from the south. The king whose memory is thus commemorated was the Elector Palatine Frederick V., who by becoming King of Bohemia was the cause of the Thirty Years' War; as the zealous champion of Protestantism and son-in-law of James I., he enjoyed a temporary popularity among the English people.

Honours continued to be heaped upon the lord of the manor of Hampstead. In 1625 he was appointed a deputy-lieutenant for Middlesex, and on May 5, 1628, Charles I. raised him to the peerage as Lord Hickeys of

Ilmington, Warwickshire, and Viscount Campden, of Campden, Gloucestershire, with special remainder, there being no son, to his son-in-law, Edward Noel, Lord Noel, of Ridlington, Rutlandshire, who in 1616-17, being then Sir Edward Noel, had married Juliana, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Lord Campden. Neither by his titles nor by residence, however, is the first Lord Campden specially associated with Hampstead. Presumably he had a house there; but his chief seat was at Campden, a palatial edifice, the façade



MONUMENT TO BAPTIST, LORD HICKES, VISCOUNT CAMPDEN, IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF CAMPDEN, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

From a photograph by Henry W. Taunt and Co., Oxford.

of which is said to have cost him £29,000. This mansion was burned down by the Parliamentarians in the Civil War. The town house of Lord Campden was in Kensington. It was broken into one night in 1626, two years before the ennoblement of Sir Baptist Hickes, and from the list of articles carried away on that occasion it would seem that if the mercer did not actually carry on business at his Kensington house he used some part of it for storage of goods in which he dealt. The prices and the names of some of the costly fabrics of those days are of interest. There were "fifteen yardes of calymanco

worth forty-eight shillings, four yarges of . . . wrought velvett worth three pounds and twelve shillings . . . thirteen yarges of Silke Telletos worth four pounds six shillings, . . . yards of Gingerlyne and white Tuft-taffitye worth four pounds sixteen shillings," as well as certain articles of jewellery.¹ Lord Campden
 A.D. 1629. died in London on October 18, 1629, aged seventy-eight, leaving £100,000 to each of his two daughters. He was buried at the parish church of Campden, where can still be seen (in the middle of the south chapel) a fine monument of black and white marble (illustrated on the previous page), containing the sculptured effigies of himself and his wife. In the inscription on this tomb the widow pays affectionate tribute to her husband's virtues, supplying some biographical facts that do not appear in other records. It is in the following words :

To the memory of her dear deceased husband Baptist Lord Hicles Viscount Campden, born of a worthy family in the city of London ; who, by the blessing of God on his ingenious endeavours, arose to an ample estate, and to the aforesaid degree of honour, and out of those blessings disposed to charitable uses in his life time a large portion, to the value of £10,000 ; who lived religiously, vertuously, and generously, to the age of 78 years, and dyed October 18, 1629.

Elizabeth Viscountess Campden, his dear consort, born of the family of the Mays, lived his wife in all peace and contentment the space of 45 years, leaving issue by her said lord two daughters, Juliana married to Edward Lord Noel, now Viscount Campden, and Maria, married to Sr. Christopher Morrison, Knt. and Bart., hath piously and carefully caus'd this Monument to be erected as a testimony of their mutual love, where both their bodyes may rest together, in expectation of a joyfull resurrection.

Ample proof is afforded that the first Lord Campden was held in great esteem by his contemporaries. Stow reprints the following "Epitaph made in his Memorial" :

Reader, know,
 Whoe'er thou be,
 Here lies Faith, Hope,
 And Charitie :
 Faith True,
 Hope Firm,
 Charitie Free ;
 BAPTIST LORD CAMPDEN
 Was these three.
 Faith in God,
 Charity to his Brother,
 Hope for himself,
 What ought he other ?
 Faith is no more,
 Charity is crown'd,
 'Tis only Hope
 Is under ground.

¹ *Middlesex Session Rolls*, vol. iii. 2 Ch. I.

By his will Lord Campden re-endowed Hampstead Parish Church, the revenues of which had been granted to Sir Thomas Wroth by Edward VI. In 1629, the year of his death, Lord Campden had purchased the impropriated tithes of Woodhorne, near Morpeth, in Northumberland, half of which he devised by will to Hampstead Church. The terms of this endowment throw some light on the local ecclesiastical conditions of the period. As Mr. J. Kennedy points out,¹ the endowment was "for a preacher, not for a priest, and it led to the curious anomaly of two incumbents in charge of one living," but such lectureships were not unusual in Puritan times. As the parish priest seldom preached more than three or four times a year, the parishioners were practically without regular religious exposition and instruction; but under James greater prominence was given to preaching, and it was to secure pious discourses to the people of Hampstead that Lord Campden expressly dedicated his endowment to the serving of the cure by a priest who held the Bishop's licence to preach.

They were troublous times, both for the Church and the Government; men were arrested on the slightest suspicion of treason. No one was safe. A prosecution was commenced on August 28, 1628, in respect of a treasonable verse which had been circulated in Hampstead:

Let Charles and George do what they can,
Yet George shall die like Dr. Lambe.

Made presently upon the death of Dr. Lambe.

Charles was, of course, the King; George the Duke of Buckingham, who was assassinated on August 23; Lambe was the astrologer, who, because of his supposed evil influence over Buckingham, had been set upon by the populace and beaten to death on June 23. The law officers of the Crown saw an incentive to assassination in this couplet, and many persons were summoned before the Lord Chief Justice concerning it, although its circulation was by no means confined to Hampstead. First of all, the verse was discovered written upon a petition found in the desk of George Willoughby, a Holborn scrivener, who, when charged in connection with it, explained that "he had the verse from Daniel Watkins, the pantler at Hampstead, who had it from the baker's boy that brings the bread in there." The baker's boy, John Fort, was then hauled up and examined by the Attorney-General, testifying that "he had carried bread to Hampstead for three years," and had heard the verse, but "whether before the death of the Duke or after

¹ *The Manor and Parish Church of Hampstead*, 1906, J. Kennedy.

he remembered not." In the upshot it was found that there had been no conspiracy connecting the accused persons with Felton's assassination of Buckingham, and they were discharged.

There was a considerable suppression of alehouses in various parts of Middlesex in 1630, Hampstead having its allowance cut down from six to three, the names of which, however, are not given in the record.¹

A.D. 1633. The first to fill the office of preacher at Hampstead under Lord Campden's endowment was John Sprint, who was appointed in 1633. Why the office was kept unfilled for five years is not clear. Perhaps there was trouble with Mr. Paddy, the incumbent in possession, who would naturally regard this supplementary appointment with disfavour. Any difficulty that may have arisen was disposed of by the death of Mr. Paddy in 1639, from which date until his own decease in 1658 Mr. Sprint held the incumbency alone. In 1642 Mr. Sprint had trouble with the Royalist authorities, the religious question as between Episcopacy and Puritanism being then at high tension. The Hampstead minister's sympathies were with Pym and the Grand Remonstrance, and his refusal to perform the service according to the form laid down in the Book of Common Prayer resulted in proceedings being taken against him. A true bill was returned on this charge at the Gaol Delivery
A.D. 1642. of December 7, 1642. He pleaded not guilty to the indictment, *pro non dicendo librum comm'is precacionis*, and the case was postponed to the next session, he being admitted to bail; and when the matter came up again the following month the jury acquitted him.² Up to this time the population of Hampstead could never have been much more than 200, the visitations of the Plague being accountable for many deaths.

A curious sidelight on the period is found in a letter of one Robert Read, who, mentioning a certain official appointment of which he had spoken "last summer on Hampstead Heath," complains of being left at Court in the evening to get some things signed by the King (Charles I.), who was "so long at cards" that Read "came almost too late home" to present his service to his correspondent.³

A.D. 1643. The Dowager Lady Campden outlived her husband by fourteen years, dying in 1643. She was the daughter of Richard May of London, and sister of Sir Humphrey May, Knt., Vice-Chamberlain and one of the Privy Councillors of James I. She was amply endowed by her husband, owning,

¹ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, Ch. I., 1633.

² Gaol Delivery Rolls, 18 and 19 Ch. I.

³ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, Ch. I., 1639-40, February 20.

among other estates, the manor of the priory of Dunmow in Essex, famous for the well-known but only intermittently continued custom of the flitch of bacon presentation to couples who have been married a year and a day without a quarrel or regret. Among Lady Campden's bequests was one of £200 for the purchase of lands that would yield a clear sum of £10 a year, in trust, to pay "yearly, for ever," one moiety "towards the better relief of the most poor and needy people that be of good name and conversation, inhabiting the parish of Hampstead," to be paid to them half-yearly, at or in the church or church porch; the remaining moiety to be applied in putting "one poor boy or more of the said parish to apprenticeship" annually. To this fund was added a sum of £40, which an anonymous lady had bequeathed about the same time for the purpose of providing halfpenny buns for distribution among the young and old and rich and poor of Hampstead every Good Friday morning. Why this fund should have been incorporated with that of the Dowager Lady Campden it is difficult to understand, the conditions of the £40 bequest being as easy to carry out as those of the other. Be that as it may, these two sums, and another of £10, left by John Rixton, were put together, and the aggregating sum of £250 was laid out in the purchase of fourteen acres of meadow land at Child's Hill, of the yearly value of £12:10s. In connection with Rixton's bequest was an annual sum of £5 for repairing the church, and £1 to the minister for preaching his birthday sermon from the text, "I will always give thanks unto the Lord my God: His praise shall ever be in my mouth" (Psalm xxxiv. 1). As time went on the Child's Hill property increased in value, and in 1854 was yielding £58 a year. In 1856, on the application of the trustees, the Charity Commissioners directed the net income to be applied, "as to ten equal twenty-fifth parts thereof, to the apprenticing of poor boys" of Hampstead; and as to "the remaining fifteen twenty-fifth parts of such income," in money distributions among the deserving poor of Hampstead, not more than £2 or less than 10s. being paid in any year to one person. Thus the distribution continued until 1880, when the Campden Charity and the subsequent Wells Charity, of which we shall have something to say later, were thrown into one. The value of Lady Campden's gift has greatly increased in more recent years. The property purchased with her £200, and the added sums of £40 and £10, realised, at different sales between 1874 and 1880, from fifteen to sixteen thousand pounds.¹

Turning back to the point at which Lady Campden's charitable gift called

¹ For further particulars of this and other Hampstead charities see Appendix II.

for some reference to its later developments, we find ourselves in the thick of the troubles which brought about the downfall of the Stuart dynasty.

The house of Campden was naturally on the side of the King, from whom it had received exaltation. What the founder of the house, had he lived, would have said to the levyings, monopolies, tonnages, poundages, ship-money, and other exactions of the monarch who made a peer of him can only be conjectured. It is not impossible that he would have made common cause with the Parliament of which he was a member, for he did not always approve of the royal methods. There is a letter, among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, in which he complains to his brother, Sir Michael Hickes, of the non-payment of loans due from the King and the courtiers, observing that "the Scots are fayre speakers and slow performers," and that he will give them no further credit.

When the Dowager Lady Campden died, in 1643—a year memorable for the deaths of the three great patriots, Hampden, Falkland, and Pym,—the Royalist cause was beginning to totter. The Campden family were seriously affected by the conflict. Lord Noel, Lady Campden's son-in-law, who became the second Lord Campden and lord of the manor of Hampstead, was a vigorous supporter of the King. It had devolved upon him as Lord-Lieutenant of Rutland to levy the ship-money in that county, and when the Civil War broke out he raised a large force of horse and foot for the royal service, and was in garrison with his troops at Oxford when he died, on March 10 of the year in which his mother-in-law passed away.

The Dowager Lady Campden had other near relations—brothers, or nephews possibly—fighting for the King. In the Commons Journals, 4th April 1643, occurs the following message from the Lords, by Sir Robert Riche and Mr. Page: "The Lords have been moved in the behalf of Mr. Adrian May, now a prisoner at Coventry. He is a near kinsman to the old Lady Campden; and the main matter of his subsistence is from the hopes and bounty of that old lady. His desire is only that his imprisonment may be removed from Coventry hither, that he may be near to that good old lady, from whom he expects his subsistence. The Lords are well inclined to grant this request, and desire the house to concur therein." What befell the prisoner ultimately we are not informed. He was possibly removed to a London prison; but, as Lady Campden died shortly afterwards, he would not gain much by the change. The sympathies of the Campdens were wholly Royalist, and involved the house which the famous mercer had founded in many tribulations.

Mr. Thomas May, the Dowager Lady Campden's brother, was appointed her executor, and his duties were rendered not a little difficult by the events of the time. Among her ladyship's bequests were certain sums to her Royalist relations, including £5000 which Parliament confiscated on the ground that it had been given "to persons in actual war against the Parliament." Mr. May was prohibited from distributing this sum as the testatrix had directed, and compelled to hand the amount over to "the service of the Parliament," an ordinance of indemnification being granted to him.

The body of Ernest Noel the second Lord Campden was conveyed from Oxford to Campden for burial, and his widow, daughter of the first Lord Campden, caused a handsome mural monument to be erected over his grave. Later she retired to an estate at Brook, in Rutland, where she lived to the great age of a hundred, dying in 1680, having survived her Royalist husband by thirty-seven years, and witnessed not only the rise and fall of the Puritans and the restoration of the Stuarts, but also the second decadence of that royal house, for Charles II. had by this time nearly got to the end of his popularity.

Baptist Noel, third Viscount Campden, at his father's death in 1643 threw himself with great ardour into the civil struggle, and for a time took an active part in support of the Royalists, losing a troop of horse in a conflict with Oliver Cromwell, then only Colonel Cromwell, near Burghley House, by Stamford. The Cavaliers were still a gay and high-spirited party, with plenty of confidence and bravery; and the company formed and commanded by the new Viscount, then in his thirty-third year, was composed of a gallant band, who to the sound of "Boot, saddle, to horse, and away!" rode forth to do battle for Charles. They afterwards joined the King's garrison at Belvoir and were royally welcomed. Then followed a quick succession of battles and skirmishes, sieges and burnings, the Queen herself taking the field, to "beat those rascals," as she vowed; but after Marston Moor and Ledbury the Royalists were practically vanquished, and in 1645, after two years of gallant service, Lord Campden was taken prisoner and put out of the combat for the remainder of the Civil War. The army of "gentlemen" (as the Cavaliers so often styled themselves) could not withstand the charges of Cromwell's "Ironsides." "I honour a gentleman that is so indeed," Cromwell said; adding sternly, "but I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain who knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a 'gentleman' and is nothing else."

A.D. 1645.

Lord Campden was kept prisoner until August 1646, when he was

liberated on recognisances. He was at the mercy of the Parliament, which had declared his estates forfeit, and permitted his property in Rutland and at Hampstead and other places to be enjoyed by their own friends and supporters. The Earl of Westmorland was allowed to occupy the Campden house at Kensington.

A.D. 1646. The County Committees of Middlesex, Rutland, and other shires where Lord Campden possessed property, were instructed to certify as to the extent of his estate, and in January 1646 he begged to compound for his delinquency in taking up arms for the King. The County Commissioners being slow in completing their return he entreated that he might not be prejudiced by their delay; but it took the Compounding Committee until the 9th July to come to a decision. They then imposed a fine of £19,558 upon his lordship.¹

A.D. 1647. This was a few weeks before his release. He demurred to the fine, and in October of the same year petitioned for a "review" of the circumstances, declaring himself unable to pay the sum demanded and pointing out that he was only tenant for life of the properties. The Committee took two months to consider these points, and then reduced the fine to £14,000; whereupon he appealed again, making further protests, and on October 25, 1647, the fine was cut down to £11,078:18s., with the special proviso that if he settled his impropriation of Langham, Co. Rutland, worth £100 a year, on the minister there, and "£50 a year out of his land at Hampstead on the church" at that place, the fine should stand at £10,000. On this understanding, and on payment of a moiety of the fine, he was permitted to enter into possession of his sequestered estates. Even then he was not satisfied. He was a persistent petitioner, and in an appeal presented to the Compounding Committee on November 1, 1647, he again urged that he was not justly dealt with, setting forth that he had discovered there were "several real charges on his lands, and that his estate in Hampstead and Kensington," which had been "reckoned in fee simple," was "but for life," wherefore he "begged abatement" in regard to his second payment. The Committee were once more compliant, and finally fixed the fine at £9000, taking care, however, to reaffirm the Langham and Hampstead impropriations for ministers as before mentioned.

That Lord Campden should give but grudging submission to these exactions was only to be expected. The fine, it may be presumed, was ultimately paid; but the annual sum to the minister at Hampstead, then John Sprint, was allowed to run into arrear, causing Mr. Sprint to petition

¹ Calendar of Committee for Compounding, ii.

frequently on his own account. In 1645, prior to the Committee's dealings with Lord Campden, Mr. Sprint had begged "consideration and a comfortable subsistence"; pleading that he had "a great charge and small means," and explaining that because "Lord Noel" was then "on his composition" he was unable to obtain anything from "Sir Noel's sequestered estate in Hampstead," from which he had had £40 allowed by the Committee, the "Committee for Plundered Ministers" allowing him another £20 from the same estate. A more specific statement upon the subject of Mr. Sprint's income appears in the Surveys of Church Livings, of 1649, it being therein shown that he was entitled to an income of £87:13:4, of which £50 was payable by Lord Campden, and £32:13:4 was from the impropriation of Woodhorne before mentioned. The grand tithes of hay and corn, worth £400 per annum, were then in the hands of the lord, who let part of them to a person named at £45 a year for nine years ending in 1657; the petty tithes of lambs, wool, pigs, and fruit, were let by the lord to Mr. Sprint, "minister, for his life in consideration of three-score pounds." There was also a vicarage house, "a messuage and house standing in the town of Hampstead, with a backside or garden thereto, wherein the said minister liveth."¹ But Mr. Sprint insisted that his maintenance of £87:13:4 per annum was too small, "he having great charge of children." We may be sure Mr. Sprint's difficulties were not lessened in the next few years, Lord Campden having other things to think about than Hampstead Church during this period, for, in addition to his affairs being greatly involved, his attitude towards the party at whose hands he had suffered so many humiliations was far from being one of acquiescence. His movements were regarded with suspicion, and in 1651, a few months before the battle of Worcester, in consequence of certain incriminating reports, he was brought before the Committee for examination, and required to enter into a bond of £10,000 for himself, with two sureties of £5000 each, not to do any act prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and to hold himself ready to appear before the Council whenever called upon, to answer further. A.D. 1651.

The losses to the Campden family in connection with the Civil War were indeed heavy. The magnificent house built by the first lord had been burned down; the second lord had died while under arms; the third lord, Baptist Noel, as we have seen, had been made prisoner and suffered greatly in estate; and his only brother, Henry Noel, who had also fought for the King, had his mansion at North Luffenham burnt down, he himself being

¹ Surveys of Church Livings made pursuant to an Ordinance of Parliament, dated 20th December 1649.

taken prisoner and confined for a considerable time in Petre or Peter House, Aldersgate Street, London.

By certain returns sent up to the Parliamentary Government from their Commissioners at Hampstead between 1646 and 1653, considerable light is thrown upon local conditions in the mid-seventeenth century. The first is dated April 28, 1646,¹ and is entitled "A Booke made of the acres of land and the yearly rents in the parish of Hampstead." The second, compiled on similar lines, is simply called a "Survey of Hampstead," and bears date May 22, 1649;² while the third is in the nature of a list of monthly assessments, issued on December 12, 1653,³ and gives the names of all persons holding real estate within the parish of Hampstead, and the yearly profit each holding represents.⁴

From the survey of 1646 it is ascertained that out of a total holding of 1289 acres an aggregate annual rental of £2001:5s. was derived. Of this acreage, the lord of the manor—at that time Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden—was credited with the ownership of 356 acres, yielding him the gross annual rental of £517:5s., including £111 for his royalties and £15 for 60 acres of wood. Seventeen tenants in all to the lord of the manor are mentioned, the highest rent—£128:5s.—being paid by John Maye for 116 acres. The other principal manorial tenants at that time were John Whithington, who paid £48 rent for 40 acres, somewhat over £1 an acre; William Crewes, whose rent was £38:15s. for 34 acres; and Humphrey Sumpster, whose holding was 29 acres at a rental of £36. There is also the item "Thomas Mann, for tythe, £39." One of the chief Hampstead landlords of this period, it appears from this survey, was Sir William Robarts, Knt., who drew £169:15s. in rents from six tenants, while his own house and 30 acres of land were returned as of the annual value of £60. "Widdow Page" was Sir William's chief tenant, holding a house and 70 acres of land for which she paid £100 a year. Sir Thomas Alleyn, who was evidently not a Hampstead resident, owned 177 acres, in respect of which he drew a total yearly rental of £253:10s., among his tenants being "Robert Barrett for Eaton Colledge, 40 acres, £60," along with this appearing the name of "Robt. Barrett for the remaynder one house, £10:10s." Another considerable landowner was John Hollgate, Lady Anne Waad's son-in-law, who possessed 251 acres, representing a total rental of £251. His property comprised 110 acres of wood and nine houses; Serjeant Wilde paying him £67:10s. a year for a

¹ Bodleian Library MS., Rawlinson, D 715, f. 76.

² *Ibid.* f. 82.

³ *Ibid.* f. 81.

⁴ In none of these returns does anything in the nature of a map appear.

house and 24 acres of land, and Mr. Hollgate himself being put down for £33 : 5s. for a house and 26 acres. Among other property owners included in this survey were Mr. Dawson, Mr. Rixton, and Sir Henry Herberts. Cottage rents at this time ranged from 15s. to £3 : 15s.

The survey of 1649 gives the total holding as 1403 acres, an increase of 114 acres on that of 1646 ; and shows an augmentation of total rental from £2001 : 5s. to £2318 : 17s., of which, however, £80 was deducted for the Eton and £40 for the Westminster properties, leaving £2198 : 17s. assessable. The returns of tenants, etc., are to a large extent as in the list of 1646.

As regards the assessment list of 1653 the particulars are only in respect of real estate holdings and "yearly profits," and can only be partly compared with the figures of the surveys of 1646 and 1649. There are over eighty names in all, and the total assessment amounts to £2566 : 17 : 8, which is £565 : 12 : 8 more than the amount of 1646, and £248 : 0 : 8 more than that of 1649. The following are the chief items of interest in the list :

Lord of the Manor (royaltie)	£90	0	0
„ „ land and tythe	486	10	0
Sir Wm. Robarts	170	5	0
Sir Thos. Allen	231	16	0
Col. Downes	125	10	0
Mr. John Holgatt (for Mr. Pilchford's late house and lands)	41	0	0
„ „ (for his other lands)	68	0	0
Major-Generall Browne	85	0	0

The list also includes the names of fourteen "poore labouring men" who had "no land but a cottage to dwell in," who were assessed at from £1 to £2 each except a certain Thomas Okeman whose cottage was put down at £3. The returns were "signed and sealed" by four local assessors, Richard Gibbs, John Rixton, John Marshe, and John Franklyn, who appended a note desiring the commissioners to "remember the poverty of the place," where there were many "poore labouring men on wages at the Tyle-kilns and other places, and their wives washing clothes for London." It was pointed out also that "divers houses" were "occupied by cittizens of London who pay there," *i.e.* in London, not Hampstead.

These three official records (given at length in Appendices III., IV., and V.) help us to a fuller comprehension of the Hampstead village of the time of the Commonwealth. The interests of the lord of the manor had been sequestered into the hands of a Parliamentary Committee, but in any case he

was hardly a local personality ; Serjeant Wilde and Colonel Downes were of the governing classes ; John Hollgate represented the Belsize interests, as far as they were capable of being separated from the Lady Waad, Wilde, and Downes tangle ; and a couple of knights and a major-general were among the other residents of social distinction. Apart from these elements the people were mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the landscape was one of pleasant uplands, diversified with heath and wood ; revealing some good residences, many farmhouses, and a few hilly streets. The "tyle-kilns"¹ and the laundresses are characteristic industrial references.

To what extent the people of Hampstead were associated in the hazard of war with their manorial lord it is difficult to say. A certain Martyn Dawson of Hampstead appears to have been among the Royalist forces, A.D. 1649. for, under date May 24, 1649, an information was laid, in behalf of the Countess of Kildare, that this man "was in Oxford and Exeter with the King's partie assisting them against the Parliament." Earlier on Dawson's case had been before the Committee, and "his fine" had been paid by his wife ; his name was up again in June 1649, when he begged to "compound on the late resolves, not being sequestered nor engaged in the second war, but liable to sequestration in relation to the first war";² again in August of that year his case was further considered, and it was ordered that, "he having been discharged by the Committees for Middlesex and Campden House," the "business depending" should be "dismissed."

It would appear that Lord Campden was very active in the field until the time of his capture, if we may judge from the petitions for compensation lodged with the Committee for Compounding on the sequestration of his estates. Sir Thomas Trollope claimed £2000 for loss in stock, goods, etc., at the hands of "Viscount Campden's forces"; and Captain Stephen Tory begged "reparation out of Lord Campden's estate" for loss, injuries, and imprisonment he had suffered by the acts of the Viscount.

Lord Campden was rewarded for his loyalty to the Stuarts when the Restoration put them in power again. He was made Captain of a troop of horse, Justice of the Peace, and Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Rutland, A.D. 1682. and devoted the rest of his life to local affairs, dying in 1682, at the age of seventy-one, at Exton, where he was buried. He was married four times : to Anne Fielding, second daughter of the Earl of Denbigh ; to Anne, Countess

¹ In 1900, whilst excavating for new houses on Rosslyn Hill, at the corner of Shepherd's Walk, distinct traces of a tile-kiln, with newly-made tiles in clumps, were found.

² Catalogue of Committee for Compounding, 2076.

of Bath ; to Hester, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Lord Wotton ; and to Elizabeth Bertie, eldest daughter of Montague Earl of Lindsay, who was his sole executrix and residuary devisee. She provided for the erection of a monument to him at Exton, which was carried out under the direction of her third son and executor, the Hon. John Noel, in 1686, at a cost of £1000,



MONUMENT BY GRINLING GIBBONS TO BAPTIST NOEL, THIRD VISCOUNT CAMPDEN, IN EXTON CHURCH.

designed by Grinling Gibbons, and containing sculptured effigies of the Viscount, the Viscountess, and their children. The inscriptions, which are of an elaborate character, bear testimony (among other things) to the Viscount's "eminent loyalty to his two sovereigns, Charles I. and II.; his conjugal affection to four wives ; and his paternal indulgence to nineteen children."

The successor to the title was the deceased peer's eldest son, by his second

wife, Edward Noel, who a few months before his father's death had been created Lord Noel on his own account. He was in great favour with both Charles II. and James II., and filled many offices and dignities, being Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Rutland and Southampton, Governor of Portsmouth, and Warden of the New Forest. Later he was created Earl of Gainsborough. He A.D. 1689. died in 1689, and was succeeded by his son Wriothesley Baptist. The second



BAPTIST NOEL, EARL OF GAINSBOROUGH.

From a stipple portrait published by Harding, 1799.

earl died in the year following, and, in default of brothers, the title descended to a grandson of the third Viscount Campden, Baptist, who became third Earl of Gainsborough, and died at the early age of twenty-nine, of smallpox. Some few years before his death—in 1707—he sold the manor of Hampstead to Sir William Langhorne, ex-Governor of Madras. With that transaction the connection of Sir Baptist Hickes's descendants with the manor of Hampstead ceased.

A few facts connected with the manorial holding are to be gleaned from a case between Sir Wm. Langhorne and the copyholders in 1707, on certain

points of custom. Sir E. Northey, in stating an "Opinion,"¹ upheld the lord's contentions for the most part as against the tenants. Among other things, it was declared to be the custom for the lord to receive for every alienation or sale of any estate within the manor "one yeares value thereof and noe more,"² the like custom prevailing in the case of the admission of the heir of any customary tenant. A tenant was entitled to "digg and carry away as much gravell, sand, and turfe" as he had occasion for, for "ye repaires and accomodacions" of his "land, gardens, and houses," provided he confined his digging to such places as were convenient, and paid "the lord's officer 2d. the load for getting it."

Sir William Langhorne was the ideal "nabob" of the early eighteenth century. His father had been in the East India trade, and, succeeding to this business, William Langhorne had shown great capacity in its management, and becoming rich was made a baronet in 1668, at the age of thirty-nine. Two years later he was sent out to India to inquire into certain charges of malpractice which had been brought against Sir Edward Winter, then Governor of Madras, the upshot being the deposition of Winter and the conferring of the governorship on Sir William. His rule was that of the strong hand and the shrewd man of business, but on the whole successful for himself and "John Company." By the latter he was allowed a modest £300 per annum; but by private trading he realised some £7000 a year. Dr. John Fryer, the traveller, drew a graphic picture of Sir William, his power and *entourage*.³ "He is superintendent," wrote the doctor, "over all the factories on the coast of Coromandel as far as the Bay of Bengala and up Huygly river. . . . He has his Mint . . . moreover he has his justiciaries. . . . His personal guard consists of three hundred or four hundred blacks, besides a band of fifteen hundred men ready on summons; he never goes abroad without fifes, drums, trumpets, and a flag with two balls in a red field, accompanied with his Council and Factors on horseback, with their ladies in palankeens." Sir William was back in England in 1677, his "private trading" having proved too much for the East India Company. Purchasing the Charlton Manor estate in Kent, he became the head of a county family, and many years later—in 1707, when seventy-eight years of age—added the manor of Hampstead to his possessions. For his first wife Sir William married Lady Grace Manners, a daughter of the Earl of Rutland; his second wife was Mary Aston, step-

¹ Bodleian Library, Gough MSS., Middlesex 4, f. 25.

² The present custom in this respect is mentioned on p. 64, vol. iii.

³ *New Account of East India and Persia*, 1698.

daughter of the Rev. Robert Warren, D.D., rector of Charlton, and later vicar of Hampstead. There were no children by either marriage. By his will, Sir William made his nephew, William Langhorne Games, his residuary legatee, as far as Hampstead was concerned, and in default of his attaining a vested interest, another nephew, Sir John Conyers, was to inherit; but both these remainders failed to come into effect, and ultimately the Hampstead manor and property fell to Mrs. Margaret Maryon, widow, a distant relation, and through her to her son the Rev. John Maryon, who devised the estate to his niece, Mrs. Margaret Weller, with remainder to her daughter Jane, the wife of General Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, Bart., M.P. for Sussex.



THE MANOR HOUSE AT CHARLTON, BUILT BY SIR ADAM NEWTON.

From an illustration in *A New Display of the Beauties of England and Wales*, 1775.

Park relates, without exactly vouching for it, a story "circulated among the elder inhabitants" in his time, concerning Sir William Langhorne's will. Calling on Sir William one day at the Charlton manor house, Dr. Warren found the baronet in his study alone. "Sir," said Sir William, "I have just been making my will." "Have you!" cried the doctor; "well, what have you done for us?" "Oh," replied the other, "I have made you thirteenth in remainder for my manors." "Thirteenth in remainder!" repeated the doctor in a disappointed tone, "is that all? Sir, I would not thank you for it." Taking him at his word, Sir William struck out the clause, and, the story continues, the intended devisee lived long enough to see the eleventh remainder expire, if not the twelfth; and Mrs. Margaret Maryon who did inherit was said to be the fourteenth in remainder, though that is doubtful.

Although we do not hear of the lords of the manor up to this date having taken any particular part in the life or affairs of Hampstead, there are some interesting links of association which should not be overlooked. Some of the members of the family must at different periods have resided there, or at least have been frequent visitors. I have already described the Campden Charity, founded by Lady Campden in 1642. Fifty-six years later, by deed dated December 20, 1698, the Hon. Susanna Noel, widow of Baptist Noel, A.D. 1698. the second son of the third Viscount Campden, and mother and guardian of the third Earl of Gainsborough, then a minor of the age of thirteen, granted in the name of her son "six acres of waste land" on Hampstead Heath, "lying and being about certain medicinal waters called the Wells," to trustees, to "stand seized thereof for the sole use, benefit, and advantage of the poor of the parish of Hampstead successively for ever."

This was the origin of the Wells Charity. The names of the fourteen original trustees are worth giving, if only as local names of the time. They were Sir Thomas Lane, Francis Kerk, Thomas Foley, Isaac Honywood, Basil Horne, Daniel Dawes, Anthony Burren, Edmond Bouldsworth, Joseph Ashton, John Bunn, Thomas Perryer, William Johnson, Nicholas Reading, and Daniel Hoar. Although the gift was not of much benefit to the poor of Hampstead for many years, the spring upon the property sufficed to establish the reputation of Hampstead as a region of chalybeate waters, and led to its being for a considerable period one of the recognised inland watering-places of the country. These are matters which are dealt with at greater length in Chapters IX. and XII. As to the Gainsborough charity, it in time became of great value, and was, as we have seen, amalgamated with the Campden Charity.¹

At this point mention should be made of a reference to "Pond Streete" and to "Hampstead Streete" (probably what we now call High Street), in certain Chancery proceedings of 1678, in which Joseph Streaque and Elizabeth his wife filed a bill against Sir Thomas Byde, Bart., and others, in regard to some mortgage transactions. It seems to have been a complicated matter, as it was not until May 1686 that Sir Miles Cooke, one of the Masters in Chancery, was able to make his report on the case. It appeared that the premises had been in such a ruinous condition that the defendants on taking possession had spent more upon repairs and rebuilding than the property was worth, to say nothing of £300 incurred for costs, so the plaintiff's bill was dismissed, Jeffreys, then Lord Chancellor, pronouncing the decision of the court.

¹ See Appendix II.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Contrasts—Residents—Lord Delaware—Baron Wilde—Great Happenings—Notable Houses—The Plague—The Great Fire—The Necromancers—Witchcraft—"Merrie" Hampstead—Taxations—Charitable Appeals—Register Revelations—Sir Harry Vane—Vane House—Vane with the Pilgrim Fathers—Vane in Parliament—Eminent Visitors—Cromwell and Vane—Sir Harry's Arrest—Vane in Prison—Vane's Trial—The Execution—Lady Vane—Fifth Monarchy Men—The Rising—The Fanatics hide in Ken Wood—Early Occupants of Ken Wood—Diana Bill.

A.D. 1600.



NOTABLE changes in the life of Hampstead took place in the seventeenth century. Woods were thick around the village in 1600, and roads were rough and few; before the century had closed the woods had been cleared in great part, while the highways had been increased and made practicable for carriages. Much of the timber had gone to the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. In 1600, apart from its few landowners, Hampstead had a rural and agricultural population numbering some two hundred souls; by the end of the century it had lost much of its rustic aspect and had a population of some 1800. Early in the century there were few houses of greater importance than the labourers' cottages. Norden mentions only two gentlemen's houses as existing in 1593—those of Mr. Cockeram and Mr. Weeks. These houses have not been positively identified; but it has been suggested that one of them may have been a red-brick Elizabethan house which stood in the High Street until about the end of the eighteenth century, and that the other was the house tenanted at different times by many distinguished people and afterwards known as Belsize House.¹

¹ An old description of Middlesex (in manuscript), quoted by Park, says: "Belsyse, though now in ruins, was formerly a fine seat . . . where there was a chapel and a deer park."

The Atyes lived at Kilburn Priory in the early part of the century, Sir Arthur Atye owning both that and the Shoot-up Hill Estate; and at the time of the Commonwealth Charles, Baron De La Warr, or Delaware, resided at Hampstead, and may have occupied Belsize for a time. The Hampstead Church registers contain entries of the baptism of Charles, eldest son of Lord Delaware, June 16, 1645; of another son, Horatio, October 25, 1646; and of a daughter, Sophia, April 6, 1661. Lord Delaware was a Parliamentarian, and in 1642 married at Highgate Anne, the only daughter and heiress of Serjeant Wilde (afterwards Lord Chief Baron). In 1646 Lord Delaware was one of the commissioners from the Parliament to treat with the Scots, and was with the army in 1647; later he was suspected of more than Royalist sympathies, suffering imprisonment in 1659 on a charge of being implicated in Sir George Booth's scheme for the resumption of the monarchy—a circumstance which counted in his favour when in the following year the Restoration became an accomplished fact.

Baron Wilde was a man of considerable influence during the Commonwealth, and is said to have gained wealth by methods such as had caused Bacon's downfall; Anthony à Wood, who was never very charitable towards his opponents, declared him to be a judge to whom "it was all one whether he hung or hung not, so he got the beloved pelf."

Wilde had been M.P. for Droitwich for a number of years prior to 1640, when he was returned as one of the knights of the shire of Worcester in the Long Parliament. He took a chief part in the impeachment of the thirteen bishops in 1641, and of Sir Edward Herbert and Laud later, and incurred much odium, when acting as judge of assize, by condemning Captain John Burley to be hanged "for causing a drum to be beaten for God and King Charles" at Newport in the Isle of Wight, on the day the King was brought a prisoner there. In 1646 Wilde was appointed Lord Chief Baron, and was a member of the first and second councils of state under the Commonwealth. Cromwell did not approve of Wilde's methods and removed him from the chief baronship on assuming the Protectorate, giving him no further judicial employment. Cromwell's standard of judicial fitness was shown in his appointment of Sir Matthew Hale. After Cromwell's death Wilde again became member for Droitwich, sitting in Richard Cromwell's short parliament, January to April 1659; he was also returned to the Rump parliament in the May of that year, and in the following month again became Lord Chief Baron, to lose the office almost immediately afterwards by the Act of Restoration,

Charles II. appointing Sir Orlando Bridgman as his successor. With the swift reaction now setting in, Wilde found himself both out of office and out of popular favour. The ballad-mongers began to assail him, and in no mincing terms, as may be gathered from "a proper new ballad" that was in vogue in the latter part of 1659, in one of the verses of which he was pilloried thus :

Next Seagoose Wild come in, to show your weesle face,
And tell us Burley's sin, whose blood bought you your place,
When loyalty was a crime, he lived in a dangerous time,
Was fore'd to pay his neck, to make you Baron of the Cheque.
Sing hi ho Jack Straw we'l put it in the margent,
'Twas not for justice or law that you were made a Sergeant,
Sing hi ho, etc.¹

It was generally thought that Wilde was a doomed man when the Restoration was accomplished and vengeance was being dealt out with rather short shrift to such as had been prominent in bringing about the downfall and death of the late King. Although not one of the actual regicides responsible for the death sentence, Wilde had shown himself a violent and unscrupulous enemy to royalty; and it was only the accident of his judgeship that prevented him being an active as well as a nominal member of the fatal tribunal. Nominated a member of it by Parliament, when he saw that the rest of the judges excused themselves from attendance by virtue of their office, he considered it wise, in view of possible contingencies, to do the same. To Clarendon he was "an infamous judge"; even to Cromwell his time-serving, self-seeking tactics made him obnoxious; to the bulk of the people he was an object of contempt.

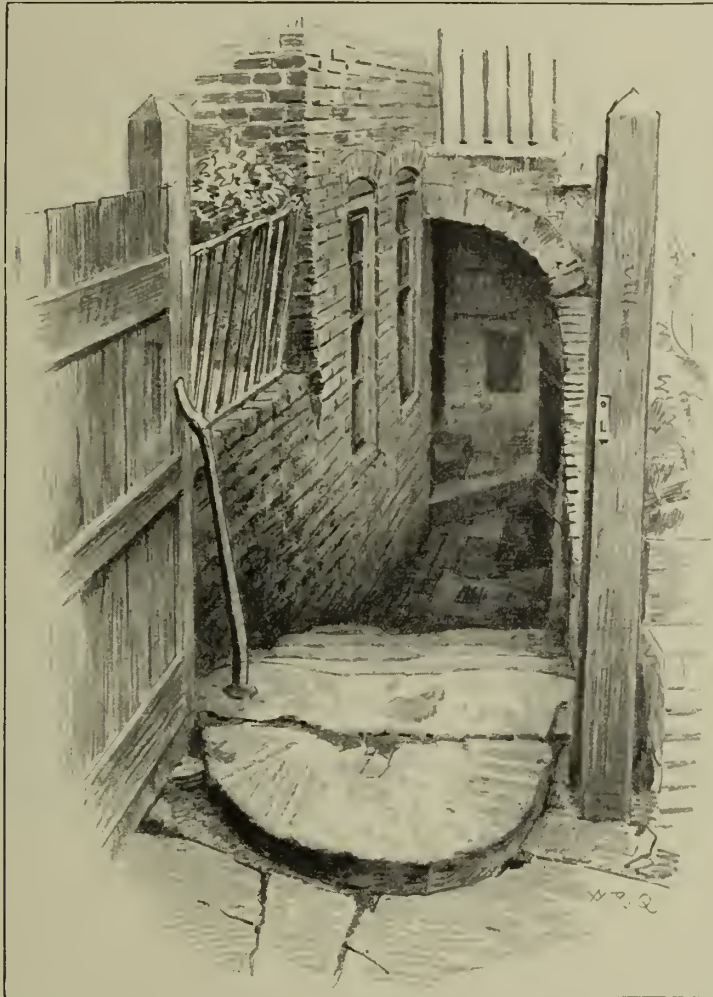
He was among those branded in *Lucifer's Life-Guard*,² a pamphlet containing a schedule of the names of the "Infernal Imps" who had been among the "destroyers" of the King, and was labelled "Whimsey Whirligig Wigeon Wilde."

The Act of Indemnity secured for Wilde a peaceful retirement, his closing years being mostly spent at his Hampstead house, which, it has been suggested, was at the south-west corner of the Heath. The house had previously been the seat of Sir Isaac Wake, the diplomatist, who died in 1632, and was evidently one of the most notable mansions in the

¹ Thomason Tracts, 669, f. 22, September 11, 1659.

² *Ibid.* 669, ff. 25, 34. The full title of this acrimonious publication was "*Lucifer's Life-Guard: containing a Schedule, List, Serowle, or Catalogue of the first and following Names of the Antichristian, Anabaptistical, Atheistical, Anarchical, and Infernal Imps, who have been Actors, Contrivors, Abettors, Murderers and Destroyers, of the best Religion, the best Government, and the best King that ever Great Britain enjoyed.*"

neighbourhood. Aubrey¹ describes it as looking “over London and Surrey” and famous “for its walkes of pines and firres, also corne trees,” these “pines and firres” being reputed to be the first planted in England. The amiable old gossip further remarks that its study was “mighty



ENTRANCE TO THE AREA OF 119 HEATH STREET IN 1911, SHOWING THE HALF MILL-STONE STEP.

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

pleasant,” and had been offered to the Chief Baron’s “cosen Edmund Wyld, esq.,” for “8 *li* per annum.” It was in this house that Wilde died in 1669; he was buried at Wherwell, in Hampshire. We are told that Lord Delaware sold this residence about 1683 to a citizen of London, who pulled it down

¹ *Brief Lives.*

and erected another house on the site in 1686. Lord Delaware died in 1687, his widow living until 1702. Who was the London citizen?

All through the seventeenth century Hampstead continued to strengthen its connection with the general life of the time, and especially with the life of the capital. Great happenings brought people into closer sympathy. The Civil War, the Plague, the Fire, and other moving incidents, instilled fresh ideas and interests; there were news-sheets now, public coaches were put on the main roads; and many social distinctions, ancient superstitions, and State and local tyrannies disappeared.

We are enabled to trace some of the salient features of the Hampstead landscape in maps and other documents. There was the manor-house at Frogna!; Windmill Hill had its veritable windmill; another stood in the vicinity of North End; there was a third which stood on the site now occupied by New Grove House, where Du Maurier lived. Half of the mill-stone of the last-named mill now forms the top step leading to the area of 119 Heath Street and is here illustrated on p. 131; and there were lanes, bordered by high hedges, winding in and out and connecting with the more important roads and outlying hamlets. Hampstead Heath was still a part of the royal game limits within which none had the right of killing game but the A.D. 1660. King.¹ Men and women were to be seen riding pillion, and occasional pack-horses ambled up the lanes with loads destined for distant farms or villages. The slopes were still well wooded, particularly around Belsize and in the directions of Chalcot, Shepherd's Fields, Frogna!, North End, and Highgate. The Heath was covered with heather and gorse, and dented with sand and gravel pits in the western parts; while on the eastern side, and in the region known later as the Vale of Health, the ground was mostly marsh and bog. The principal houses within the Hampstead boundaries were Belsize; Chief Baron Wilde's mansion before mentioned; the Chicken House, at the entrance of the village; Vane House, on Rosslyn Hill (then called Red Lion Hill), and a few others, scattered in conspicuous positions. The parson's house was in the High Street, where there were shops and a few good houses, with considerable gaps between, and plenty of garden ground everywhere. Around Holly Bush Hill were cottages, while other poorer-class dwellings of wood, some of which (or portions of them) still remain, were to be seen huddled together, in narrow off-shooting ways, as if building space had been difficult to acquire. The only

¹ Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660, September 11. Under this date there is the record of letters patent to Francis de Champs and Thos. de Champs his son, as keepers of game in or about the palace royal of Westminster, ranging from Chelsea to Kingsland, *Hampstead Heath*, and other places.

actual street of importance, besides High Street, was Pond Street, of which mention is made in the parish church register as early as 1639. There was the old church, a small dilapidated structure, on the site occupied by the present one; but there was as yet no Church Row as we know it. At the top of High Street was 'The King's Well, where travellers and pack-horses halted after climbing the hill. Beyond, on the highest ground, was Jack Straw's Castle, commanding a full view of Hampstead and the ways leading to it. Towards the end of the century both The Upper Flask and the notorious



AN OLD HEATH-SIDE COTTAGE AT NORTH END, ABOUT 1820.

From a drawing by T. Hastings in the Bell-Moor Collection.

Mother Huff's stood on the Heath, the latter being on the site now occupied by The Elms.¹ Other inns stood at convenient positions on the high roads. There was The Load of Hay on Haverstock Hill (then called The Cart and Horses); at the foot of Holly Hill was another tavern, of which undoubted evidences have been traced, though the name has been lost;² there were The

¹ In 1728 Mother Huff announced by public advertisement that she had removed from Hampstead Heath to The Hoop and Bunch of Grapes, at North End, where cakes and cheese-cakes and the best of entertainment were to be had. She stated she had kept the former house for over fifty years. (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, August 31, 1728. See also *post*, p. 186.)

² G. W. Potter, *Random Recollections of Hampstead*. This, however, may have been The Three Tuns, where the Trustees of the Parish Church frequently met.

White Hart¹ and The King of Bohemia, not far from each other, in High Street; and out at North End were The Green Man and The Bull and Bush, with perhaps The Spaniards at the end of the road now called after it, and here was the site of the old toll-house that marked the entrance to the road through the Bishop of London's park, which stretched from the northern border of the Heath to Highgate.

Early in the seventeenth century belief in witchcraft was common throughout the country. It was a time of credulity and quackery. There were "wise women," fortune-tellers, and astrologers in the Hampstead parish, and they did a profitable business, being better shielded from the interference of the public authorities in their countryside retreats than in the city, though the law against their practices was not very vigorously enforced anywhere.

Every village had its witch. In the seventeenth-century play, *The Witch of Edmonton*, by Dekker, Rowley, and Ford, when one of the morris-dancers proposes to personate a witch, one of the characters exclaims, "Faith, witches themselves are so common nowadays, that the counterfeit will not be regarded. They say we have three or four at Edmonton besides Mother Sawyer."

A.D. 1605. Charges of witchcraft were brought against two women and a man at Hampstead. The accused were a widow named Alice Bradley, one William Hunt, and his wife Joan. Bradley was proceeded against in 1605. Four charges were preferred against her, the chief of which was that she had "practised witchcraftes" on the person of Margaret James, so that "the said Margaret languished and wasted in her body for the space of three days and has so continued and remained." The other charges were that she had "at the instigation of the Devil practised witchcraftes, inchantementes, charmes and sorceries, wickedly, diabolically, and feloniously against and upon a certain Robert Philpott, six years of age, so that he languished and wasted in his body for twenty days through the same wicked arts and has so continued and remained even until now"; that she had "bewitched two heafers worth two pounds of the goods and chattels of Philip Barratt,"² so

¹ The White Hart stood a few doors from The King of Bohemia, where now is a butcher's and poulterer's shop; the inn yard, now the slaughter-house, was called White Hart Yard. The old building, in a very ruinous condition, was pulled down about 1820. A newspaper report of that period refers to a dispute over its demolition, then in progress; and there is no mention of *The White Hart* in local directories of 1824 and later.

² The connection of the Barrett or Barratt family with Hampstead seems to have existed from a remote period. The Philip Barratt here referred to was described as a "yeoman," and held on lease a portion of the Chalcott and Wyldes estates. The name crops up again in a manorial record of 1807, when a transfer of property took place from John Barratt to Thomas Barratt; and so on to later times and later Barratts.

that she thereby killed and slew the same"; and that she had bewitched "four hogges worth fifty shillings of the goods and chattels of Robert James, so that she killed and slew the same hogges."

The main mover in these matters seems to have been this same Robert James, who accused Bradley both of his daughter's bewitching and of the destruction of his hogs. He it was who brought about the prosecution of the Hunts, whom he accused of "bewitching" his children and farm-stock. It was fortunate for the accused persons that Sir William Waad was then the chief resident justice, and happened to possess enlightened and



TWO WITCHES DISCOVERED.

From the frontispiece to Matthew Hopkins' *Discoverie of Witches*, 1647.

humane views. He ordered the acquittal of the persons—a course which so much disappointed the Jameses that Mrs. James afterwards charged the knight of Belsize with having "slubbered up the matter of witchcraft touching Hunt and his wife," and was ordered by the Court to apologise and ask forgiveness for the slander.

Alice Bradley also was acquitted, and it seemed as if Hampstead had heard the last of prosecutions for witchcraft; but the Jameses and their neighbours persisted in believing that the Hunts had dealings with Satan and continued to practise their "devilish arts." A few months after their first

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 19.

acquittal, therefore, the Hunts were again arrested, and put on their trial at the Old Bailey, charged with having conjointly caused a certain Richard Parrett to languish and to waste. There were further charges. Hunt, it was asserted, had not only bewitched a gelding belonging to Robert James, but had also wrought the same evil upon Alice James herself; there was likewise a separate charge against Joan Hunt of having murdered one Robert Hill by witchcraft. On all these counts the Hunts were acquitted; and were able to return to Hampstead free persons. The discomfiture and chagrin of the Jameses may be imagined, and, presumably at their instigation, the very next year Joan Hunt was again placed in the dock to answer the charge this time of having bewitched a three-year-old child named John Nuttinge, who, it was asserted, had "sickened and languished from the 28th of March to the 10th day of April, then next following, on which last-named day he died of the said exercise of the said devilish arts." This time Joan Hunt's good fortune forsook her. She was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged.

Superstition took a good deal of killing. On the one hand, the fortune-tellers escaped with impunity; on the other, thousands of persons suffered death as the innocent victims of a senseless belief. It is said that during the first eighty years of the seventeenth century 40,000 persons in Europe were put to death for witchcraft. Notwithstanding the Hampstead charges referred to, it would seem that the prosecutions for witchcraft in Middlesex were few in comparison with those of other counties.¹

It was a time when the common people were uneducated, and only just emerging from feudalism. Severe manorial rule in such places as Hampstead had largely given way to a parochial control that was paternal and easy-going, but did not make altogether for culture and enlightenment. The stocks, the whipping-post, and the cucking-pond were among the local instruments of punishment, and the maypole was among the provisions for amusement. It was "merrie England." The annual fair, the great summer festive-time, was liberally patronised by Londoners. It was held in Flask Walk; there was another at West End, referred to elsewhere.²

In the Middlesex Sessions Rolls there is an interesting entry under date A.D. 1615. October 21, 12 James I. (1615), showing that on that day, "at Hickes Hall," a "Rate and Taxacion" was imposed on the whole county of Middlesex in

¹ Even in these days it is not unusual to see sandwichmen, parading the fashionable Finchley Road, advertising the occult power of certain "crystal-gazers," "sand-diviners," and such like necromantic adventuresses, who invite all and sundry to their "studios" and "ateliers" near by for "consultations."

² See *post*, p. 299, and vol. ii. pp. 244-246.

THE WHIPPING POST.

FROM AN OLD PRINT.

In the Bell-Moor Collection.

Illustrating another form of Old English punishment, co-eval with the
Cucking Stool and the Stocks.



order to raise £2000 for the "buying, building, and furnishing" of a "House of Correction for the say'd Countye." This would, of course, be in addition to the building provided three years previously by Sir Baptist Hickes. Hampstead's portion of the rate was assessed at £12, an amount larger than was demanded of Paddington, Marylebone, or Chelsea.

Among the entries of more or less interest in the parish register during the first half of the seventeenth century, there are, in addition to those already referred to, many showing that the village was much resorted to at that time by people of position. On July 3, 1617, we have recorded the baptism A.D. 1617. of "Frances Audly, daughter of the Lord Audly, Earle of Castlehaven"; on July 30, 1635, the burial of Sr. Lewis Morgan, Knt.; and on February 8, 1637, the burial of Daniel Bedingfield, Clerk of the Parliaments. In 1630 the average baptisms were twenty-eight, the burials twenty-eight—a notably even record.

In an official return dated October 3, 12 Charles I. (1637), Hampstead A.D. 1637. is included in the weekly assessment for the relief of poor people infected with the Plague in that year, and had to pay 20s. each week. Sixty-one other places in Middlesex were assessed. The highest weekly amount ordered to be paid was £3; Enfield, Edmonton, and Harrow being each assessed at this sum. These assessments, however, were in aid of specified parishes unable themselves to bear any further burden of taxation, St. Giles in the Fields among the rest.

During the Civil War and the period of the Commonwealth both Cavaliers and Roundheads had supporters in Hampstead. The lords of the manor, as has been shown, were extreme Royalists, ready to venture their lives and estates in the cause of the King. Most of those who were connected with them by ties of service would be on the same side, and it is probable that there would be Hampstead men among the companies, each some 300 strong, raised by the Campdens. On the whole the villagers were for the Parliament, and the influence of Chief Baron Wilde, of his son-in-law Lord Delaware, and of Colonel Downes would be exerted in that direction. Mr. Sprint, the church minister, was a Puritan, and at heart opposed to the Royalist lords of the manor, who were also nominally the chief patrons of his church.

One of the principal Hampstead residents of the Commonwealth period was Colonel John Downes, who for some time, while the Waads were under a cloud, and Chief Baron Wilde was mortgagee in possession of Belsize, lived at that seat, and being a Councillor of State, was one of the great men of the parish. He had first made his way into prominence in 1635, in which year he

obtained by purchase the auditorship of the duchy of Cornwall, and sat in the Long Parliament for Arundel. During the Civil War he served as a colonel of militia, and kept himself well to the front in public affairs generally, contriving in the course of his parliamentary and official work to add considerably to his material wealth. He was one of those who sat in judgment on the
 A.D. 1651. King, and was a signatory of the death-warrant. In 1651 he was appointed Councillor of State and received a parliamentary grant for his "pains and service" on the army committee, being also made Commissioner of the Treasury. Cromwell, however, seems to have had no particular liking for him any more than he had for his friend Wilde, and by 1653, when Cromwell was meditating the assumption of the Lord Protectorship, Downes's influence was on the wane. This was shown somewhat markedly by a Hampstead incident which occurred in that year, which other writers on Hampstead appear to have misunderstood, it having been doubted whether such a person as Colonel Downes had any connection with the place at all. My investigations, I think, make the association and identity clear.

Early in 1653 the town of Marlborough suffered grievously from fire,
 A.D. 1653. a church, the market-house, and 224 houses being destroyed, and the inhabitants put to great distress. A "brief" was issued on May 18 of that year under the Great Seal authorising collections in every parish of England for the relief and rebuilding of Marlborough.¹ The custom of making collections by virtue of Royal Letters, called "briefs," was suspended during the Civil War, but Cromwell's views were becoming more sympathetic now that he was relieved from the stress of war, therefore the Marlborough "brief" went forth. When the collectors came to Hampstead, Colonel Downes refused to allow the collection to be made. But he forgot that he was no longer a Councillor of State and one of the rulers of the nation, and was quickly brought to book for his interference by a summons from the Council to appear before it and explain his "incitement to rebellion." Cromwell and his officers were in no mood to be trifled with, and Downes was glad to purge his mistake by a humble submission and apology; an express order of council being issued to "ye Ministers and Officers of ye said Parish" of Hampstead that they "Doe proceed to take and gather ye voluntary Contributions of ye People towards this Charitable Work . . . and doe hereby declare that they will take especial notice of all Persons who shall give any opposition or hindrance to this soe good and Charitable Worke, and have a

¹ See Robert Steele's *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, vol. i. No. 2995.

great sense of what hath been represented to them to have been done by Coll. Downes in ye obstructing of this business."

While Cromwell lived Downes received no further honour or appointment, but after the Protector's death he was again elected to the Council of State and made a Commissioner of Revenue. After that his fall was speedy. At the Restoration he not only lost office but everything else; and on June 18, 1660,¹ A.D. 1660. was arrested at his Hampstead home and marched down to prison. When put on his trial with other regicides, charged with complicity in the putting to death of Charles I., he made an earnest defence, pleading that he had incurred Cromwell's enmity by strongly objecting to the execution of the King. He was also able to bring forward one Samuel Taylor, a London mercer, to testify that he (the Colonel) had opposed the taking away of the King's life with such vigour that the proceedings of "the High Court of Justice (soe called) had to be adjourned," at which "Cromwell was so intraged against him the said Mr. Downes, that he would have ruyned him because he would not consent."² The evidence being concluded, the usual formula was gone through. Addressing the jury, the clerk said: "Look upon the prisoner; how say you? Is he guilty of high treason whereof he stands indicted and hath been arraigned? or not guilty?" The foreman answered, "Guilty." Whereupon the clerk, addressing an officer of court, said, "Look to him, keeper. What goods and chattels is he possessed of?" "None, to our knowledge," was the reply. Then the clerk turned to the prisoner, and said, "John Downes, hold up thy hand. . . . What canst thou say for thyself why judgment should not pass on thee to die according to law?" Downes simply answered, "I shall not trouble you any further; I shall desire the benefit of his Majesty's proclamation," referring to the general act of pardon and oblivion, from which he had been excepted. He was condemned to death with the other regicides, but his submission to the royal mercy saved him from the extreme sentence, and he was ordered to be imprisoned for life. At first he was committed to Newgate, later being confined in the Tower, his name appearing in the list of prisoners under detention there on November 22, 1666,³ A.D. 1666. when he would be over sixty years of age. He emitted one bitter cry from prison in April 1663, in a petition to Sir John Robinson, the lord mayor, begging "to be thrust into some hole where he may more silently be starved; alms and benevolence

¹ Commons Journals, viii. 61, 65, 68.

² Historical MSS. Commission Reports, House of Lords, Calendar 1661, 2.

³ State Papers, Domestic, Ch. II., November 22, 1666.

failing him." The rest is silence. When and where the end came I have not been able to discover. Any interest he may have had in Belsize, as well as his other possessions, was confiscated, his name being included in the "list of traitors" whose estates were ordered to be seized by virtue of Lord Treasurer Southampton's warrant of November 28, 1660.¹ A man named Cheney being accused of securing some goods belonging to Downes was ordered into custody by the House of Commons the day after the Colonel's arrest, and compelled to give up the property.²

The man who, most people would think, overshadowed other Hampstead residents of that time in political and personal importance was Sir Harry Vane; and in Vane House, which stood to the left of the road on the top of Rosslyn Hill, a moving page of seventeenth-century history is recalled. Part only of this fine old red-brick mansion now remains. On the site of the southern wing stands the "Royal Soldiers' Daughters' Home"; the central portion and northern wing, heretofore called "Belmont," but now "Vane House" once more, are parts of the original structure, which includes an old staircase leading to the garden, and large roofed cellars.

Here Sir Harry Vane built himself a pleasant home, which, while within easy distance of Westminster, offered him all the advantages of a country retreat; and it was to this home that he eventually retired when the exigencies of political strife blunted his aspirations, and, a saddened man, he turned to religious contemplation. The house was of goodly proportions, and the grounds were of considerable extent, including a noble avenue of elms and large kitchen gardens. It is not very long since half an acre of the ground was sold for £5000. The house and estate were well calculated to provide the old Parliamentarian with a comfortable refuge; but he was too great a man to be suffered to remain at peace.³

It was a chequered record he had to look back upon. Born in 1612, a member of a distinguished family, and possessed of sufficient fortune, when he came to manhood, he devoted much attention to the various religious and political movements of the time. In Geneva, where his education had been completed, his mind had become strongly imbued with the principles of religious freedom, and at the same time he showed a decided leaning towards Republicanism. It says much for his strength of character that, when the

¹ Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660.

² *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 25.

³ The Society of Arts have placed on one of the exterior gate pillars a memorial tablet denoting that Sir Harry Vane lived in the house. See Note by Mr. Henry B. Wheatley, F.R.S., Appendix VI.

time came for him to choose between giving up his principles or having to forsake his country for upholding them, he chose the latter course.

We find him at Boston with the Pilgrim Fathers in 1635, a prominent and zealous worker in the cause of religious liberty. He was accepted by the self-exiled Puritans with open arms, and stood so well with the community that in 1636 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts; but he soon found that his own ideas of religious independence and those of his friends were not in harmony. Their "tolerance" was shown in a cruel and rigid intolerance of



VIEW OF VANE HOUSE, HAMPSTEAD

From a drawing by W. Davison, engraved by J. Smith. Published November 1813.

everything that did not fit in with their own narrow Calvinistic views; Harry Vane stood for a larger humanity.

The result was that he returned to England after only a two-years' sojourn in America, and obtained a seat in Parliament as member for Hull. The Royalists, regarding him as a man to be reckoned with, worked hard to win him to their side. Knighthood was conferred upon him, and he was made one of the Treasurers of the Navy. Vane's principles were not to be bought. By his services at the Admiralty he did much to enhance the fame of the Navy, then at a low ebb, and, for a time the Royalists imagined he would

act with them ; but at the crucial period when Parliament and King came to open defiance it was with the popular side that Sir Harry threw in his lot.

Vane's career for the next few years belongs to national rather than to local history : so we must be content to summarise it to the date of the memorable incident of his leave-taking at Hampstead.

His services to his party were brilliant. During the Commonwealth he was re-established in his position of Treasurer to the Navy, and showed his patriotism by declining the fees of the office, which were worth many thousands a year, and accepting only the small fixed salary of some £200 a year. For a time Vane's reputation almost vied with that of Cromwell ; but their methods differed so much that thorough confidence between the two was impossible. Still, for a while they seemed to work amicably together ; and there can be little doubt that Vane's house at Hampstead was sometimes visited by Cromwell, whose son-in-law, Ireton, as well as Andrew Marvell, the poet, lived only a short distance away on Highgate Hill. Pym, Hampden, Fairfax, and Algernon Sydney were free to the hospitalities of Vane House. Milton was probably a more frequent visitor, for between the author of *Paradise Lost* and Vane there was a keen sympathy, as is forcibly shown in Milton's sonnet, in which he claims for Vane that he knows

Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each . . . , which few have done ;
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe.
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.

When the execution of the King was voted, Vane refused to be a party to the sentence, and retired to his Raby Castle property in Durham, one of the estates his father settled on him on his marriage in 1640 ; and there he consoled himself by writing his famous pamphlet, *The Retired Man's Meditations*.

When Cromwell violently broke up the Long Parliament, his most active opponent was Sir Harry Vane, who protested against what he called the new tyranny. It was then that Cromwell uttered the historic exclamation, "O Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord preserve me from Sir Harry Vane!" Vane was kept out of the next Parliament, and, still remaining at Raby, made another attack on Cromwell's Government, in a pamphlet entitled *The Healing Question*. This was a direct impeachment of Cromwell as a usurper of the supreme power of government, and led to Vane being summoned before the Council to answer for his words. He was required to

give security that he would refrain from acts against the Government, and, on refusal, was imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where Charles I. had been confined shortly before his execution.

The pamphleteers, news-letter writers, and balladists—a hireling set for the most part—were busy in those days trying to prop the waning popularity of Cromwell by scurrilous effusions, and Vane was one of their chief butts, his eccentricities of creed as much as his firm stand against the Protector’s “usurpation” offering easy points of attack. In 1659 he figured in a host of A.D. 1659.



SIR HARRY VANE, KNT., OBIT 1662.

From a mezzotint engraving published by S. Woodburn, 1811.

tracts and broadsheets. In one song, set to an old tune, he was “a hocus pocus jugling knight,” who, “for all his Ceremonious Cringing” would have to “undergo a notable Swindging,” his doom being forecast in the following verses :

Of this State and Kingdom he is the Bane,
He shall have the reward of Judas and Cain,
And 't was he that overthrew Charles his Wain,
Which nobody can deny.

Should he sit where he did with his Mischievous brain,
Or if any his Councils behind do remain,
The house may be called the Labour in Vain,
Which nobody can deny.¹

¹ Thomason Tracts, January 18, 1659.

On the other hand, his defenders and sympathisers were more numerous than dared openly avow themselves; whosoever wrote or published anything in his favour did so at his peril.

Cromwell's death restored Sir Harry Vane for a brief period to public life and to regular residence at Hampstead. It was for a Republic, however, and not for a continued Protectorship, that Vane worked. He ignored Richard Cromwell's authority altogether. When the strain of the position was at last solved by the Restoration, many thought that Vane would go into exile; but, as Ludlow points out, "being conscious in himself of having done nothing in relation to public affairs for which he could not willingly suffer, he continued at his house at Hampstead, near London." Moreover, having taken no part in the trial or putting to death of Charles I., and the new King having "graciously promised a wide and merciful indemnity," he probably presumed that he would be left to enjoy his retirement in peace. This was not to be. Vane's ultra-republicanism was probably more objectionable to Charles II. than it had been to the Protector, and Charles had not been established on the throne more than a few months when the arrest of Sir Harry Vane was ordered.

A.D. 1660. When the soldiers came to Hampstead to make the arrest, Sir Harry, it is said, was walking in his avenue of elms contemplating the beauties of the setting sun, his mind being given more to thoughts of nature and religion than to the politics in which all his higher hopes had perished. One can imagine what a commotion there was in the village when a body of soldiers came marching up the hill on that July evening in 1660; but when they were seen to march straight to Vane House, some of them proceeding through the gates, while others were stationed at the exits to keep guard, their errand was only too well guessed. Sir Harry Vane heard the tramp of the approaching footsteps with a sad foreboding, and while the members of his family and his servants gathered round him he turned calmly to the intruders and asked their business. A none too civil answer was given, and, a few minutes later, the knight passed out of the home he loved so well, between files of soldiers, and so across the hill in the dusk and down the village street, a hero in every fibre. That was his last look on Hampstead. The scene must often have lived again in his memory in the days that remained to him; and the villagers who had gathered to witness his departure were more regretful than they dared to show, for it was dangerous in those days to avow sympathy with any one accused of being an enemy

to the King. As to what happened at Vane House after Sir Harry's arrest—what members of his family he left there, what they did, whether they visited him, or whether he wrote to them—there is no special information.

Downes, as we have seen, was at once dealt with. Against him there was a specific charge. His signature was on King Charles I.'s death-warrant. Vane's was not, nor was it easy to fix any grave offence upon him. He was at first imprisoned in the Tower, the arrest having been carried through at the instigation of his enemy Clarendon. Possibly at that time it was not intended to do more than keep him in safe custody for a while. The King himself, being less vindictive than his ministers, would at first have spared him; but Clarendon found little difficulty in making it appear that Sir Harry was a danger to the State, and so influencing the King to stronger action.

After a brief confinement in the Tower, Vane was sent to the Scilly Islands, where he was kept a prisoner for two years. Meanwhile the agitation regarding him was not allowed to slumber. A resolution was passed in the House of Commons praying that if Vane were tried his life should be spared; and to this the King assented. But Vane could not keep silent. Even in prison he persisted in writing, and the pamphlet he penned in his cell in the Scilly Isles, *The People's Case Stated*, did not improve his chances of freedom.

After an imprisonment of nearly two years he was brought to London, and in March 1662 again committed to the Tower. His trial had been decided upon. It was held at the King's Bench, the charge preferred being that of "compassing and imagining the death of the king, and conspiring to subvert the ancient frame of the kingly government of the realm." The result was a foregone conclusion. The judges knew what was expected of them; and when Vane in his defence spoke up once more for the principles of popular government his doom was sealed. At the same time he urged that he had opposed the trial and execution of Charles I., and had no hostile feeling against the Stuart family. Nothing availed in mitigation. The King called the defence "insolent," in a letter to Clarendon, and said, "If he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way."

Even the easy-going Pepys seems to have been moved by the unfairness
 A.D. 1662. of the proceedings. Under date June 1662, he writes in his *Diary*: "Sir Harry was the day before condemned, after a full hearing in the King's Bench"; adding that "Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, said he never heard any one plead so simply in his life. The fact was, that he

pleaded most ably, although he had not been allowed to see the indictment against him till he came into Court; and when he demanded the right to have counsel, he was told by the judges that they would be his counsel—they, the King's appointed tools of his destruction. In fact, the judges, so far from saying a word in his favour, did all in their power to stop his mouth, and deprive him of all means of defence." Vane was condemned to be executed on Tower Hill on June 14, and resigned himself to the final ordeal with the dignity that might have been looked for. It is said that word was conveyed to him in prison that he might still save his life by making an appeal and submission to the King on certain terms. His answer was characteristic: "If the King does not think himself more concerned for his honour and word than I am for my life, let him take it."

Pepys must again be cited for the story of the execution. Under date of June 14, 1662, he wrote:

About eleven o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower Hill, and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Harry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriff and others there, and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused that all the books that those who writ after him to be given to the sheriff; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded we could not see it done. But Boreman, who had been upon the scaffold, told us that first he began to speak of the irregular proceedings against him. That he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have the exceptions against the indictment allowed, and that there he was stopped by the sheriff. Then he drew out his paper of notes, and began to tell them, first his life, that he was a born gentleman; he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home and made a member of the Long Parliament, where he never did, to this day, anything against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over; and so fell into prayer for England in general, then for the churches in England, and then for the city of London; and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not to hurt; he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heat than cowardice, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the king. He answered, "You shall see I can pray for the king; I pray God bless him!" The king had given his body to his friends; and therefore, he told them he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was.

At one interruption of the drums and trumpets Vane made the comment : "It is a bad cause that cannot bear the words of a dying man." Shortly after his execution a pamphlet was published purporting to be the "Substance of what Sir Harry Vane intended to have spoken upon the scaffold. Published to prevent false reports." This, however, is not half so interesting as the record given by Pepys. It seems to be more of a religious pronouncement than a defence, and is not unlikely a fabrication. The political murder of Vane did more harm than good to Charles and his Government, and was one of the things that helped to force forward the final reaction against the Stuart dynasty.

Frances, Lady Vane, appears to have continued in residence at Hampstead for some time after her husband's death. There is an entry in the Calendar of State Papers, dated the Tower, January 15, 1663, seven months after the execution, which seems to imply a certain suspicion of the lady. It reads : "Mrs. Cawley and Mrs. Goffe, or Lady Vane, at Hampstead, who correspond with Lady Warriston, may know something of Ludlow"; adding, "Palmer and Holmes are dangerous, Fifth Monarchy men." Lady Vane died in 1679, and was buried in Shipborne Church, where her husband's remains had previously been laid. There were seven sons and seven daughters. Henry, the eldest son, died in 1660, two years before his father's execution. Raby was inherited by the fifth son, Christopher, who was created Baron Barnard by William III. in 1669.

Vane's religious views, which Clarendon described as a compound of "the fancies and extravagances of every sect," exposed him to a good deal of misunderstanding, and also to the charge of fanaticism. Among other things, they caused him to be suspected of being in league with the Fifth Monarchy men, who, in their own words, "sought to set up the reign of the Saints." The report was set on foot that these people had elected Vane their king, and that a rising of Fifth Monarchy men and Anabaptists had been decided upon for the month of April 1660. The first impetus of the Restoration brushed aside small opposing forces like these. The only attempt at a rising ever seriously made by the Fifth Monarchy men was in January 1661, at a time when Vane was lying in prison in the Scilly Isles. Strange to say, the crazy movement came to a collapse in Ken Wood, at Hampstead, not far from Vane House.

This miniature insurrection caused considerable alarm while it lasted, being supposed to have strength behind it. The prompting idea was con-

ceived in the spirit of the purest fanaticism. The Fifth Monarchy was to usher in the reign of Christ and His saints for a thousand years, the preceding four monarchies being accounted as those of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome.

On the night of January 6, 1661, the members of this "phrenetic sect" A.D. 1661. (as Pepys styled them), to the number of about sixty, assembled at their meeting-house in Swan Alley, and, after being worked up to a pitch of exultant frenzy by their leader, Thomas Venner, a retired Coleman Street cooper, resolved upon an immediate rising against the Government. Next morning they mustered in full force and marched forth from Swan Alley, well armed, bearing aloft a banner on which was inscribed the motto, "King Jesus and the Heads upon the Gates." On they sped, uttering loud cries of mingled triumph and menace as they went. They caused great commotion in the city, and the Trained Bands were quickly called out; but before the onrush of the fanatics could be stayed they had killed a man in St. Paul's Churchyard, who on being challenged had "declared for King Charles." Later, at another point, when a company of Trained Bands, led by Sir Richard Brown, the Lord Mayor, attempted to check their progress, they effectually routed their opponents. Encouraged by this success, they continued their march through the city to Bishopsgate, "and, going on the outside of London Wall, re-entered the city at Cripplegate." Here they received news that gave them pause. A troop of horse was coming against them, and they must engage in a desperate fight or run. They decided upon retreat, and, after killing a headborough who endeavoured to delay their escape in Beech Lane, made a hasty movement in the direction of North London; first seeking the shelter of St. John's Wood--then a wood in reality--and next of Hornsey Wood, from both of which they were driven forth. As a last resort, they made for Ken Wood, which seemed to offer a safer hiding-place. Here they planted their banner, repeated their frenzied vows, and continued without molestation for three days, praying, singing, and hungering. Then came the end. Raresby and his troop surprised them in their sanctuary, killed and wounded some of them, made several prisoners, and dispersed the rest. Venner escaped to the city, and next day made a last attempt to rally his forces; but it was all to little purpose. They had just one fierce encounter "with some horse and Trained-bands," and the Fifth Monarchy movement was stamped out, Venner being made prisoner.

Pepys is also worth quoting in this connection. He writes: "Mr. Davis

told us the particular examinations of these Fanatiques that have routed all the trained-bands that they met with, put the King's Life Guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the City gates twice; and all this in the daytime, when all the City was in arms;—are not in all above thirty-one. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City and had been in Highgate two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief.”

From a Hearth Money Roll relating to Hampstead,¹ we get an interesting list of local names of the time, and a comparison of the number of fire-hearths chargeable enables us to form some idea of the relative size and importance of the properties upon which this burden was imposed. The tax was one of the “merry monarch’s” ingenious devices for raising money, and yielded some £200,000 a year. An impost called “chimney money” had
A.D. 1662. existed in Norman times, but the Hearth Tax only lasted from 1662 for the next quarter of a century, William III. abolishing it because of its being “very grievous to the people.” Whether the taxpayers of Hampstead protested or responded loyally I am unable to say, but presume they made no special outcry against it or there would have been some record to that effect. The Hampstead roll is of the year 1665, but evidently refers to the previous year. Lady De la Warr was responsible for the largest number of hearths—24—but in respect of what property is not known. Colonel John Owen was assessed for 20; Mary Towse, widow, for 16; Mary Glover, widow, 14; William Bennett, gentleman, 13; Charles Hughes, 13; Ambrose Turner, 12; Susan Dawson, widow, relict, I presume, of Martin Dawson already mentioned, 11; John Waggoner, gentleman, 10; Ralph Honeywood, gentleman, 10; Agnes Wames, widow, 10; Daniel Roberts, 9; Matthew Black, Stephen Hams, Elisha Briscoe, and John Wild (this would be the ex-Chief Baron), 8 each; Colonel Daniel O’Neale (Belsize), 7. The name of John Downes also appears on the list; but without any number set against it. He would at that time be in prison. I give the full list in Appendix VII., the names of the Hampstead residents of the time being of much interest. They include, it will be seen, those of Anne Sprint, widow of John Sprint, the parson; Margaret Rixton (this would be the widow of John Rixton whose benefaction to the poor of Hampstead has been already mentioned);² Daniel Cockhame [Cockeram ?] descendant one would suppose of

¹ Public Record Office, 16 Charles II.

² *Ante*, p. 115.

the Cockeram we have seen in dispute with the Waads; Ralph Honeywood, ancestor of generations of Hampstead Honeywoods; and others.

At the time when Venner and his followers retreated to Ken Wood, this portion of the ancient Middlesex Forest was of much greater extent than at present, and offered a dense stretch of leafy solitude. It belonged to the See of London. There had been a mansion at Ken Wood from very remote times; but the estate did not take in more than some 280 acres of the woodland. The property had been in the possession of Sir James Harrington, a Parliamentarian, at the time of the Restoration, and after his retirement to the Continent to escape arrest, the estate was bought by Mr. John Bill, son of his Majesty's printer, who rebuilt the house, and, putting a high brick wall round twenty-five acres of the land, originated the existing park. Mr. Bill was in residence at the time of the Venner incident, as is evidenced by the record in the St. Pancras Register for 1661 of the baptism of "Diana, daughter of John Bill and Lady Pelham, at Cane Wood." Mr. Bill died at Ken Wood in October 1680, and was buried in woollen in Hampstead Church. His wife, who survived him, was a daughter of the second Earl of Westmorland, and was the widow of Mr. John Pelham when she became Mrs. Bill. Respecting the only daughter of this marriage, Lysons quotes some verses from *Poems on Several Choice and Various Subjects*, 1663, by one James Howell, quaintly entitled,

A.D. 1680.

Of MRS. DIANA BILL,
Born and baptised lately in Cane-wood,
hard by Highgate.

The lines, which betray something of the Restoration freedom of style, run thus :

Where should Diana properly be born,
But in a wood? A wood that thinks it scorn
To yield to Tempe, or Dodona's grove
(Which consecrated was to mighty Jove).
A wood, where great Diana's Temple may
Be seen, four thousand paces off, each day,
With a huge city, who her name doth owe
Unto that goddess, as good stories show.
May this new-born Diana, like Cane-wood,
Grow up, and taper, germinate and bud;
And, in due course of years, be fitly mann'd
To spread the race of Westmoreland.

In those days it was necessary to keep the curb on one's tongue in

speaking of persons in high places; a Hampstead bricklayer, one Thomas Eade, was surety for £20 for the appearance at quarter sessions of Robert Thornell, who had been guilty of the unspeakable crime of saying, "that if the Kinge did side with the bishops, the divill take Kinge and the bishops too."¹

It was a rural population with a good interspersing of well-to-do residents that occupied Hampstead in the seventeenth century. When the Great Plague was raging the residents clung closely to the hill; but the refugees from the city brought the epidemic with them, the Hampstead deaths from plague in 1665 amounting to no fewer than 180, nearly a fourth of the population. The parish clerk, Thomas Rippon or Rippin,² was among the victims; indeed, nearly all who died at Hampstead at this time were inhabitants of the village, less than a dozen Londoners being mentioned in the burial register. The disease did not appear in a very fatal form in other villages round the metropolis; whereas the Hampstead death record was seven times the average number.

The Great Fire, next year, was another memorable event that sent terror-stricken Londoners to the Hampstead and Highgate heights. There were 200,000 people rendered homeless, and the open spaces near the town were soon filled to overflowing. From Hampstead Heath what an impressive spectacle the fire would be, as from day to day and night to night it swept on its fierce course, purging the city of foulnesses never to return! Even the Plague came no more to London or to Hampstead after this purification.

¹ Sessions Papers, Westminster Records, 1 Oct. 14 Ch. II.

² Not improbably a relative of the Dorothy Rippin or Rippon who issued a halfpenny token in connection with the sale of water at the Wells.

CHAPTER VIII

TRAGEDIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY MATTERS

Highwaymen—Claude Duval—"Tryals of the Grand High-way-men"—List of Stolen Property—Jackson's Gibbet—Dick Turpin—Turpin at The Spaniards—A Judges' Walk Suggestion—Highwaymen at Golder's Green—A Primrose Hill Tragedy—The Finding of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's Body—Three Men hanged—Titus Oates—An Incident of the Plague—Inquest and Verdict—Strange Evidence—The Popish Plot—A Division of Opinion—Attack on Belsize House—The Hollow Elm—The Elm Turret School—Sir Geoffrey Palmer—Sir William Jones—Royal Visits—Sir Charles Sedley.



ANY striking incidents were added to the history of Hampstead in the seventeenth century. The sharp transitions of the period were more or less reflected in the annals of the village; and one particular characteristic of the time was prominently associated with Hampstead Hill. Tradition has it that Claude Duval, Nevison, Dick Turpin, Tom King, "Sixteen String Jack," and other "heroes of the road," did much profitable business in the neighbourhood. The many facilities that the district afforded for escape and concealment—including the friendly disposition of innkeepers towards good customers—favoured the marauders.

What is now Platt's Lane was once known as Duval's Lane, because, it is believed, of its associations with the famous French robber, whose gallantries to his victims were much talked about. Duval came to England in the train of the Duke of Richmond. Finding the temptations of the road too much to be resisted, he embarked on the career with dash. Hampstead Heath offered good opportunities for his peculiar methods. It used to be told that, after stopping a coach and robbing the passengers at the point of the pistol on the top of the Hill, he would, having bound the gentlemen of the party, invite the ladies to a minuet on the greensward in the moonlight. His career was very brief. A proclamation, dated November 19, 1669, of a A.D. 1669.

reward of £20 for the apprehension of “Lewis, alias Lodowick, alias Claude Deval, alias Brown,”¹ seems to have done service, as the robber was soon afterwards captured at the Hole-in-the-Wall Tavern, in Chandos Street, being hanged at Tyburn four days later, in spite of the intercession of some infatuated ladies. He was only twenty-six years of age. The crowds were so great when his body was on view at the Tangier Tavern, St. Giles’s, that the authorities had to prohibit the exhibition; at the funeral, which was at night in Covent Garden Church, and “attended with many flambeaux,” there was a “numerous train of mourners, whereof most were of the beautiful sex.” If tradition may be trusted, the epitaph over his grave contained the following lines:

Here lies Du Vall: Reader, if male thou art,
Look to thy purse; if female, to thy heart.

Not all encounters with highwaymen were so romantic as those related of the dauntless Duval in various parts of the country. A struggle of a desperate character occurred with a band of five highwaymen on the Heath A.D. 1674. on March 18, 1674, when three persons were fatally wounded, and others suffered grievously. In the State Papers of the period² there are records of the “Tryals of the Grand High-way-men,” under date April 10, 1674, the circumstances being set forth in the following quaint terms:

Both common Fame and the Press has already no doubt sufficiently spread the report of five most eminent and desperate Robbers on the Road, that after a long pursuit and sharp dispute wherein they killed several Country-men, and were sorely wounded themselves, were at last taken at *Hampsted*, on the 18th of March last, and committed to *Newgate*. But forasmuch as several of them were so dangerously wounded, that seemed to threaten their lives sooner than the ordinary Course of Justice could over-take them: The time for the Tryals of these Malefactors was hastened and appointed to be on *Friday* the 10th of this Instant April. Yet such and so grievous were the hurts received by some of them, viz. *James Slater*, that Death intervening summoned him before that time to a higher Tribunal than any amongst Mortals; He dying in *Newgate* on *Wednesday*, the 8th Instant, thereby as ’tis probable preventing a more Ignominious end. The other Four, *John Williams, alias Matchet, John White, Walter Parkhurst, and Francis Jackson*, were at the same time aforesaid brought down to the Sessions, and there Arraigned . . . they all pleaded not guilty to their several Endictments, and put themselves upon Tryal by God and their Country. The Robberies were all committed on the Highway, near *Windsor, Colebrook*, and places adjacent on that Road, some upon Coaches, some on particular Travellers, some for Money, and some for Horses, which they took away, when they were pursued their own being tired out; but all the Facts were done within the space of a Quarter of a Year last past. . . . The Murthers were committed upon Persons that came to apprehend them. . . . The persons kill’d were Edward Kemp, a Farmer in the parish of Hendon, Henry Miller of Hamsted, and two Woodmen in a narrow lane by Harrow on the Hill. *Upon a full and clear Evidence of Examination of*

¹ R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*.

² State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., Case F.

Witnesses to each particular Fact charged, and hearing all that the prisoners could any way though but colourably say for themselves, with much patience and favour from the Court, which spent a very considerable time in the debate thereof, the Jury brought in the aforesaid prisoners guilty in manner following, that is to say, Two of Them Guilty of Twelve Endictments for Robbery, and Four Endictments of Murther. And the other Two Guilty of Fourteen Endictments of Robbery and Two Endictments of Murther. . . . Hereupon on the 11th day sentence was pronounced on them, that three of them should be hanged at the usual place of execution, but because Jackson was proved to be more deeply concerned and to have kill'd one of the men wilfully, it was order'd that he should be hang'd at Hamsted, and gibbeted for a future Example.

One portion of the entry on the Middlesex Sessions Rolls under date 18th March 26 Charles II. is worth quoting for the particulars it affords of the articles stolen by the highwaymen in these desperate encounters :

True Bill that at Bedfont, Co. Middx., on the said day Walter Parkhurst, James Slater, Francis Jackson, John White and John Williams, all five of the said parish, laborers, assaulted William Ethick, gentleman, in the highway and then and there robbed him of a sword with a silver hilt worth three pounds, a shoulder-belt embroidered with silk and with silver buckles, worth five pounds, two perrywigs worth six pounds, two pairs of silk stockings worth twenty-four shillings, three holland halfe-shirtes worth four pounds, two laced cravatts worth fifty shillings, two paires of cambric cuffes laced worth thirty shillings, one pair holland sleeves worth eight shillings, a piece of coined gold called a tenn-shilling piece of gold worth eleven shillings, and forty-five shillings in numbered money, of the goods, chattels and moneys of the aforesaid William Ethick.

Also on the same file were thirteen other indictments, found against the same highwaymen for highway robberies, on the 16th or 18th of March 26 Charles II., committed at Bedfont, Hendon, Hampstead, or Harmondsworth, Co. Middx. ; the several persons robbed by the said highwaymen in the affairs set forth in the indictments being George Palmer, gentleman, William Ethick, gentleman, Robert Hunt, Esq., Robert Blite, Thomas Cape, Esq., Grace Barber, spinster, Francis Fryer, William Baker, Thos. Perryer,¹ John Rose, Thomas Holford, gentleman, James Prade, Esq.

Likewise two bills of indictment for "manslaughter and murther" against this band of highwaymen, "to wit (1) for the murther of Edward Kemp, shot with a pistol bullet at Hendon on 18th March 26 Charles II., by James Slater, and (2) for the murther of Henry Miller, run through the left side of his body with a sword by Francis Jackson at Hampstead, on the same 18th of March, so that the said Henry Miller then and there died instantly. James Slater died in gaol before trial. Found guilty, the other four highwaymen were sentenced to be hanged."

The gibbet on which Jackson was hanged and afterwards hung in chains

¹ One of the original trustees of the Wells Charity. See *ante*, p. 127.

was erected between two great elms which stood close together by the roadside, on the verge of Hampstead Heath, below Jack Straw's Castle on the left of the road to North End. One of these elms survived until a night early in 1907, when it was blown down. It was known as the Gibbet Elm, and gave forth each summer an abundance of foliage, creating a pleasant shade for such as came to sit on the low wooden seat beneath it. The trunk still lies where it fell.¹ The gibbet-post itself was in Park's time used as a mantel-tree over the



THE GIBBET ELMS, NORTH END, 1819.

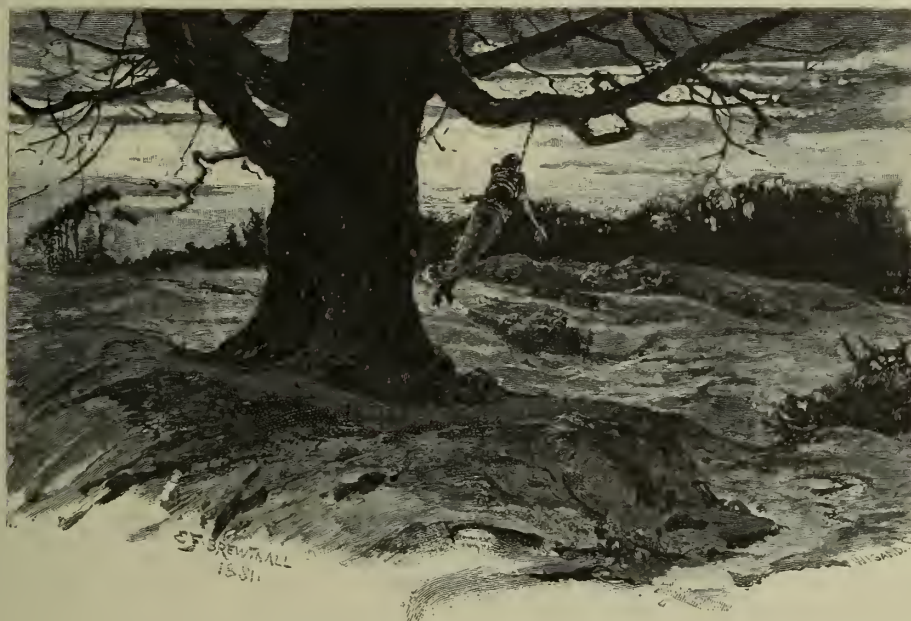
From an original drawing by T. Hastings in the Bell-Moor Collection.

fireplace in a no-longer-existing kitchen of Jack Straw's Castle. Jackson's skeleton hanging in chains was for many a long year a terror to people crossing the Heath. It is to this horrible sight that the author of *The Triennial Mayor, or the New Raparees*, published in 1691, refers in the lines :

As often upon Hampstead Heath,
Have seen a felon long since put to death,
Hang crackling in the sun his parchment skin
Which to his ear had shrivell'd up his chin.

¹ See illustration, chap. xxviii. vol. iii., Trees of Hampstead section.

Among the literature of crime issued from the press in the year of Jackson's gibbeting is a rare and curious tract entitled *Jackson's Recantation, or the Life and Death of the Notorious High-Way-Man now hanging in chains at Hampstead, delivered to a friend a little before execution ; wherein is truly discovered the whole mystery of that Wicked and Fatal Profession of Padding on the Road*. This work, however, does not tell much about the details of the crime for which Jackson was condemned, being concerned mainly with biographical particulars having no special bearing on Hampstead.



GIBBET ELM—"THE MAN IN CHAINS."

From a drawing by the late E. F. Brewthall. The artist has drawn upon his imagination, the felon here depicted being represented as hanging in chains from one of the branches ; the method adopted at Hampstead, however, was to hang the body between two elms.

There is another tract, even scarcer than the one from which the details already given are quoted. This has hitherto escaped the notice of local historians, the title giving no clue to its containing anything relating to Hampstead. It is of the same size, quarto, as that just mentioned, and the title-page is as follows :

"The Confession of The Four High-Way-Men ; As it was Written by One of them and Allowed by the Rest the 14th of this Instant April (being the Day before their Appointed Execution). Viz.—

JOHN WILLIAMS, alias THO. MATCHET.

FRANCIS JACKSON, alias DIXIE.

JOHN WHITE, alias FOWLER.

WALTER PARKHURST.

This being desired to be made Publick by the Persons themselves to prevent false reports of them when they are Dead.

With allowance
London Printed for D.M. 1674.

A further extract from the State Papers may be given. It refers to certain cases decided on the same day, and runs: "Two others also were try'd, one for stealing of cloath, and the other for picking of Pockets, taken lately at the Exchange, and both condemned, though one might have had the benefit of Transportation, but seems chose rather to be hang'd honourably in his own Country, than work in another."

There was another murder at Hampstead in 1679, the victim being one John Smith of the Savoy, who had been decoyed to Hampstead by Samuel Orm on the pretence of his helping Smith to sell some watches "to a gentleman at Hampstead." Orm, described as "a tall slender man, with short bushey dark brown hair, using to weare silver ear-rings, a hairey mould on his left cheek, aged about twenty-four years," seems to have turned upon Smith as they passed through the wood at Hampstead, killed him with a pistol, and then made off with the watches and other valuables carried by Smith. As soon as the body was discovered the alarm was raised, but the murderer appears to have made good his escape. A notification of the affair, including the offer of a reward for the apprehension of Orm, was inserted in the *London Gazette*, which contained the additional information that "the same day in the afternoon and at seven at night the murderer was seen in St. James's Market, at the Dog and Bull alehouse, having unpawned and changed his cloaths, cut off his hair, and put on a long dark brown perriwig, with a sad-coloured Cloath sute lined with Lemon-coloured Silk, a waistcoat of the same, and a Muslain Crevat of the new fashion." Whoever apprehended him or caused him to be apprehended, and giving notice thereof to Smith's wife at the Glass House in the Savoy, would be well rewarded.¹

A later announcement in the *Gazette* (No. 1499) gives a list of the watches taken from "the murthered man"—quite a long catalogue of curious examples of the watchmaker's art, including one in which the hours were in form of diamonds, another "studded in the form of five crowns," a third showing the days of the month, "with the King's picture in the bottom." I have not been able to discover any sequel to this story, so the presumption is

¹ *London Gazette*, No. 1496, March 18, 1679.

that the murderer, disguised as a gentleman, down to the artistic detail of "a Muslain Crevat of the new fashion," managed to elude justice.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the roads were more than ever overrun with highwaymen. In September 1699 four of the Duke of Ormonde's troopers were ordered to patrol every night from Islington to Hampstead and Highgate "to scour the roads."¹ Among the frequent instances of robbery may be mentioned a determined attack on several persons made by three highwaymen about sunset on the night of the 9th October 1697, near Hampstead, when several people were robbed, the highwaymen making their escape with a horse and about £30 in money, although they were "beset by two gentlemen and some other countrymen with dogs," etc.²

As long as highwaymen were in fashion the roads of Hampstead were among their favourite haunts. Hampstead Heath and Hounslow Heath were the two places near London most dreaded by travellers by chaise or coach; and of course many false reports got abroad in this connection. On a November day in 1714 a paper was cried about the London streets giving an account, for which there was no foundation, of Lord Oxford having been shot on Hampstead Heath by four men in vizor masks.³ There is a tradition that Dick Turpin lived at Hampstead at one time; at any rate he frequently waylaid people on Hampstead Heath or thereabout, and exacted tribute at the point of the pistol. Hackney Marshes were the scene of some of Turpin's most daring exploits; after shooting one of his pursuers near Epping Forest, he left that region, and "for a time drove a thriving business," one chronicler relates, "in the lanes of Holloway and Hampstead." It is said that Turpin made The Spaniards one of his chief resorts, and if half the stories told of him are true the landlord of that inn was not very squeamish about the character of his customers. There were said to be mysterious passages and corridors, and secret ways of ingress and egress (to say nothing of trap-doors and subterranean passages), in and about the hostelry in those days; and the "identical stable" in which the famous Black Bess was accommodated during Turpin's roysterings in the bar parlour is still pointed out. The reputed staple to which the mare was tied is among the possessions of The Spaniards, and also the key of the toll-bar which stood close by. This key was said to have been stolen by Turpin, so that he could at any time let himself through unknown to

¹ *Dawks' News Letter*, September 9, 1699.

² *London Gazette*, December 27, 1697.

³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Portland MSS., vol. vii. p. 207. Letter to Lord Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, from Canon Stratford.

the keeper; and for special emergencies the highwayman had also the key of a secret door opening into the back of the stable, whence he could take his horse through a passage concealed from public view by a privet hedge and a bank of shrubs, thus gaining immediate access either to the fields or to the road, whichever best suited his purpose.

These Turpin stories are not of the kind to be vouched for; but there is generally a certain amount of truth underlying such legends. Turpin, like others of his class, was clever at ingratiating himself with people who in the ordinary way would be looked upon as his natural enemies.

Until the first quarter of the last century the highwayman and the footpad continued their depredations on Hampstead Heath. Among the many suggestions as to the derivation of the name Judges' Walk, there is one which attempts to associate it with certain highway robberies. In the Le Fleming MSS.¹ we find the record, under date March 24, 1673-74, "that robberies so near the King's palace were so bold that the Attorney-General was ordered by his Majesty to consult with the Judges as to drawing up a Commission for the immediate trial of the persons taken the Wednesday before at Hampstead," to prevent their tampering with the witnesses, or making their escape during the interval before the sessions. It has been argued that this "immediate trial" meant trial on the spot, which would have been circumstance sufficient for the name. But this question of name-origin will be found more particularly dealt with in a later chapter.²

All through the eighteenth century, when Hampstead itself at one period, and Belsize at another, were fashionable resorts, robberies were frequent, and as an assurance of public safety it was advertised, in connection with the entertainments at Belsize House, that "Twelve stout fellows, completely armed, regularly patrolled the London road." The number was afterwards increased to thirty.

At the Marylebone Gardens, not far away, the proprietor offered a reward of ten guineas for the apprehension of any highwayman found on the road to the Gardens. It was at this resort that Turpin had the audacity to kiss Mrs. Fountayne, the wife of the celebrated Marylebone schoolmaster, consoling her with the remark, "Be not alarmed, madam: you can now boast that you have been kissed by Dick Turpin. Good-day."

One of the most remarkable facts in the history of highwaymen is connected with Hampstead, and is mentioned by Howitt. It deals with the early part of the eighteenth century and refers to a "Bill filed in the Court of Exchequer

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, 12th Report, Appendix VII.

² Vol. ii. p. 73.

by William Wreathock of Hatton Garden, attorney," for John Everet against Joseph Williams, plaintiff and defendant being notorious robbers; the action was the outcome of a dispute between these two gentlemen of the road as to a division of the spoil obtained in the course of plying their trade on "Hounslow, Hampstead, and Black Heaths, at Finchley Common," and elsewhere, the litigants being euphemistically described as "dealers in plate, rings, watches, canes, swords, and other commodities." Williams had refused to give a full account of his operations; and Everet charged him with having retained in his own hands effects worth over £1000. This extraordinary bill was filed on October 3, 1725; but all the parties concerned, the lawyer included, came to grief. Wreathock, indeed, was something of a highwayman himself, and after being committed to prison for six months for his insult and affront to the court in bringing the action, was afterwards tried at the Old Bailey for being concerned in robbing Dr. Lancaster, and transported for life. As a proceeding at law, this bill, on behalf of a highwayman, drawn by a barrister, and filed by a solicitor, who also practised on the highway, is unexampled. Everet was sentenced to pay the costs of the case, and in addition to imprisonment. Wreathock was fined fifty pounds, as was his partner, one White. The case is quoted in the text-books as an example of illegal partnership.¹

A.D. 1725.

No less a personage than Charles James Fox was attacked by two highwaymen "on the other side of Highgate" on the night of January 11, 1781. The robbers, however, for once met with their match. George Selwyn, recounting the matter to Lord Carlisle, says: "He [Fox] fired, Andria fired, one of the highwaymen fired, but the postilions flogged on and no harm was done."²

In later times the highwayman did not always meet with ready compliance. A case in point occurred at Golder's Green as late as the summer of 1813. It is thus reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:³ "On the 26th of June, as Mr. Orrell, of Winsley-street, Oxford-street, with Mrs. Orrell, were passing in their chaise over Golder's Green on their way to Hendon, about half-past eight in the evening, they were stopped by a single highwayman, who produced a pistol and demanded their money. Mr. Orrell declared that he would not be robbed, and after the highwayman had uttered violent oaths and threats, and put the pistol several times to the heads of Mr. and Mrs. Orrell, Mr. Orrell jumped out of the chaise and seized the highwayman,

A.D. 1813.

¹ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, December 11, 1725; *London Journal* of the same date.

² Carlisle MSS., 1781, January.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 82. The circumstances were also embodied in a tract issued soon after the occurrence.

nearly pulled him off his horse, and laid hold of the pistol, on which the highwayman struggled and spurred his horse, and having extricated himself galloped away towards Hampstead." This highwayman seems to have met with less resistance later on the same evening, when he stopped the Hampstead coach on Red Lion Hill (now Rosslyn Hill) and relieved the passengers of about £40. It was, by the way, at the old Red Lion Inn, which stood here, that Dick Turpin and Tom King, while carousing together, were said to have been surprised by Bow Street runners, and would have been captured but for their superior knowledge of the ways and means of escape, perhaps aided by the diplomacy of the landlord.

A.D. 1678.

In the autumn of 1678 Hampstead was in great commotion and much in people's minds, because of a grim tragedy which had been brought to light on Primrose Hill, where the dead body of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey had been found in a ditch on the south side, about two fields from the White House, now the Chalk Farm Tavern, or Lower Chalcot farmhouse. Here the body remained on view for several days. It was seen by large crowds of people, including Bishop Burnet, who thus describes the affair: "His sword was thrust through him; but no blood was on his clothes or about him. His shoes were clean. His money was in his pocket, but nothing was about his neck, and a mark was round it about an inch broad, which showed how he was strangled. His breast was likewise all over marked with bruises, and his neck was broken. There were many drops of white waxlights on his breeches, which he never used himself; and since only persons of quality and priests use those lights, this made all people conclude in whose hands he must have been." The appearance of the spot where the body was discovered is thus described in a print of the time: "It was in a ditch . . . surrounded with divers closes, fenced in with high mounds and ditches; no road near, only some deep dirty lanes, made for the convenience of driving cows, and such like cattle in and out of the grounds; and those very lanes not coming near 500 yards of the place."

The tragedy caused great excitement at the time. It filled the country with alarm; the authorities were terrorised; and while Sir Edmund's body was being viewed by immense multitudes at the Chalcot house Papists were being arrested in all directions until the gaols were filled. In this panic of hatred and fear, it was easy to rouse the ministers of justice to swift action, right or wrong. Titus Oates took advantage of the commotion to bring forward the testimony of his subservient informers, with the result that three men were convicted and hanged for the crime; but when the confusion and

frenzy of the alleged Popish Plot had subsided it was generally believed that there had been a miscarriage of justice, and that three innocent men had been put to death. The Popish Plot, however, was not altogether a figment of the imagination. As far as Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, and those who acted with him were concerned, it was proved that there was a



PRIMROSE HILL AND CHALK FARM IN 1836.

From an original water-colour drawing in the possession of Mrs. Wrentmore.

real conspiracy. Of this the evidence of Coleman's own correspondence is sufficing proof; when he was afterwards found guilty of treason and hanged, it was impossible to contend that he had been unjustly condemned.

Apart from this bit of serious plot, the agitation of which (in one way or another) Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was the victim, was mainly the outcome of the machinations of Oates and his associates in perjury; but who it was that killed Sir Edmund—whether Roman Catholics, perjured accusers of Roman

Catholics, or Protestants—is seemingly an unsolvable mystery. It is conceivable that extremists of any of the three sections of the community named might desire the knight's death—the Catholics, because Godfrey, as a Justice of the Peace for Westminster, had taken the depositions of Oates, and had, willingly or otherwise, acted on the evidence of the informers; the anti-Roman Catholic perjurers, who might fear his cognisance of their treacheries; Protestants, who suspected Sir Edmund of being, if not exactly a partisan of the Catholics, somehow implicated with Coleman, as was inferred from his hasty burning of large quantities of papers after the secretary's apprehension.



SIR EDMUND BERRY GODFREY.

From a mezzotint engraved by R. Dunkarton after an original picture supposed to be by Kneller.

In those days, when the bearing of false witness was common, evidence was readily forthcoming to fit with any theory; and in this case, to satisfy the popular frenzy, the Catholics had to be saddled with the crime.

Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey had acquired wealth as a timber-merchant, and for some years had been a prominent public man. We have it from Burnet that "he was esteemed the best Justice of the Peace in England." On one occasion, during the Great Plague, when his officers refused to enter a pest-house to arrest a man who was known to have sold to shops over 1000 winding-sheets stolen from the dead, Sir Edmund ventured in alone, dragged the culprit forth, and saw that justice was meted out to him, sentencing him to

be whipped round the churchyard he had robbed. It was for his many public services in the time of the Plague that Sir Edmund was knighted. His business place adjoined the river, at the foot of Northumberland Street.¹ After Coleman's arrest he seems to have considered himself in some danger: for he remarked to Burnet that "he believed he should be knocked on the head."

The last time the knight was seen by any of his friends before the murder was about one o'clock in the afternoon of October 12, 1678. He was not A.D. 1678. seen again until five days later, when his body was found head-downwards in the ditch near Primrose Hill. Those who conveyed him to this place obviously wished to give the impression of suicide. Sir Edmund's cane stood upright in the bank, and his gloves, scabbard, and belt were lying near; but a man in the act of killing himself would hardly be able to thrust his sword completely through his body, leaving the point sticking through his back "for the length of two hand-breadths." His hat and periwig lay in the ditch. Robbery had no part in the crime, for neither the Justice's purse nor his rings had been taken.

After the removal of the body from the farm-house near Primrose Hill, it lay in state for some days at Godfrey's house in London, and was then buried in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields; the funeral, it is said, was attended by upwards of "a thousand people of distinction." Dr. Lloyd (afterwards Bishop Lloyd) preached the funeral sermon. A portrait of the Justice was placed in the vestry of the church, and hangs there to this day.

At the inquest the jury returned a verdict of strangling "against some person or persons unknown"; but it was not long before steps were taken to obtain definite accusations against certain Roman Catholics in the service of Queen Catherine of Braganza. A man named Bedloe was found ready to make the necessary charges. He swore that Godfrey had been murdered at Somerset House, then the Queen's palace, by her Jesuit attendants, one of whom, it was asserted, had told Bedloe of the crime, and described the circumstances. The confessing Jesuit, Le Fevre (so ran Bedloe's story), and two others had smothered Sir Edmund between two pillows, and Bedloe had been offered £2000 to take the body away in a cart. This first story of Bedloe's, it was found, did not fit with certain known facts; so he modified it, and said that a silversmith named Miles Prance, who had worked in the Queen's chapel, was the culprit. The whole interest now centred upon Prance, who, in the words of Howitt, "was so pressed and badgered that he lost his head, and

¹ Sir Edmund's private residence was in Green's Lane, the site of which is now covered by the Charing Cross railway station (Macmichael's *Charing Cross*, 1906, p. 43).

confessed, but again recalled his confession, and charged three others with being the murderers." According to the loose methods of accepting evidence prevailing in those days, Prance was then allowed to be the chief accuser; and the three men who had now to stand their trial for the murder were Robert Green, cushion-man of the Queen's chapel, Henry Berry, porter at Somerset House, and Lawrence Hill, servant to the treasurer of the chapel. The testimony was to the effect that Godfrey was waylaid in the Strand, near St. Clement Danes, and inveigled into Somerset House "under the pretence of keeping the peace between two servants who were fighting in the yard."



MILES PRANCE.

From a contemporary engraving by R. White.

Green, it was declared, strangled Sir Edmund with a handkerchief and punched him in the breast with his knee; then, finding him still alive, wrung his neck. After keeping the body concealed for four days, Prance went on to say, they put it in a sedan-chair, and about midnight took it to a house in Soho, whence the corpse was ultimately carried by Hill, on horseback, to the spot on Primrose Hill where it was afterwards found, and there they thrust the knight's sword through his body. In spite of the many discrepancies and improbabilities in this story, and of the strong denials of the prisoners, the evidence was deemed adequate, and the three men were sent to the gallows.

The feeling against the Papists ran so high that few were found to

protest against either the procedure at the trial or the verdict. It was not until the disclosures of some years later that public opinion began to dissociate Catholics from the crime and from the disaster charged against them in the days of the Popish Plot agitation. The Papists were accused of having caused the Great Fire of London, and for many years the mock ceremony of "burning the Pope" was performed, one of the chief effigies in the long procession that preceded the burning being that of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. It was in reference to this figure that Dryden, in his prologue to *The Loyal Brother* (1682), wrote the satirical couplet :

Sir Edmondberry first, in woful wise,
Leads up the show, and milks their maudlin eyes.

Four separate medals were struck in commemoration of Sir Edmund's death. On one of them the magistrate is depicted walking with his sword through his body, and on the reverse side is the figure of St. Denis carrying his head in his hand, the inscription beneath being :

Godfrey walks uphill after he is dead ;
Dennis walks downhill carrying his head.

Another of the medals illustrates, on one side, the carrying of Godfrey's body from Somerset House in a sedan-chair, and, on the other, its removal on horseback to Primrose Hill, according to the Prance version of the matter. All these medals are specifically mentioned in Evelyn's book on medals. A "Letter to Mr. Miles Prance, in relation to the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey," published three years after the event, draws attention to the impossibility "for any man on horseback with a dead corpse before him at midnight to approach, unless gaps were made in the mounds, as the constable and his assistants found by experience when they came on horseback thither." To this day the mystery of Primrose Hill continues to be debated. There was a striking portrait of the knight published shortly after his death, showing him in a deep flowing wig, similar to the wig worn by royalty—a privilege granted to him by reason of his being a Justice of the Peace within the King's Court.

Many historians and jurists have endeavoured to fathom this problem ; but it remains inscrutable. De Quincey, who wrote upon "Murder, Considered as one of the Fine Arts," said the murder of Godfrey was "one of the most artistic performances of the seventeenth century." Hallam, Macaulay, Hume, Ranke, and Klopp all frankly declare the secret to be beyond their unravelling ; Kennet, Oldmixon, and Christie are convinced that

the Catholics were guilty of the crime; North suggests that the murder was committed by Oates's friends to strengthen the popular belief in the Popish Plot, and this view is held by Sir Sidney Lee;¹ L'Estrange, Lingard, Sir George Sitwell, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Andrew Lang, and H. D. Traill incline to the view that it was a case of suicide.

Primrose Hill, however, in spite of this tragedy and of some unpleasant associations as a resort of duellists, is mainly a place of pleasant memories. Charles Lamb mentions lying on the hill reading *Pamela*. It used to be resorted to for rather out-of-the-way kinds of meetings. When Garibaldi was in London, and cut short his visit, it is supposed, in obedience to an intimation from the Foreign Office, a meeting was held on Primrose Hill to protest against the Italian Liberator's "expulsion."

A.D. 1681. Three years after the Godfrey tragedy, in 1681, a band of armed robbers made a desperate attack on Belsize House, then occupied by Lord Wotton, who was away from home. The attacking party numbered eleven or twelve men, all on horseback. They entered the grounds by knocking down part of the wall and gate; but coming to the house they found the servants not only ready to offer resistance but capable of effective action. As the *True Protestant Mercury* of October 15-19, 1681, tells the story, they "very courageously fired several musquets and blunderbusses upon the thieves," which firing gave the alarm to a farmer living not far off (one of the lord's tenants), who ran into the village and summoned the inhabitants to the rescue; and as soon as the robbers realised that they were likely to be captured if they remained, they hastily rode off. The *True Protestant Mercury* remarks: "It is judged they had notice of my lord's absence from his house, and likewise of a great booty which was therein, which put them upon this desperate attempt."

Meanwhile Hampstead was taking its pleasures according to the customs of the time and its natural and social advantages. About 1647 it first ventured upon the course of providing public entertainment in which it was to travel far and achieve much. It was a very modest beginning; but it was novel, and seems to have served the purpose. There was a great elm-tree on the Heath, the position of which is not now known. An extremely rare print of it, by Hollar, dated 1653 (reproduced by Park, and also here), shows a wonderful extent of thick foliage; but it does not give sufficient indication of surroundings to enable the situation to be defined. It must have been on one of the highest points of the Heath. In its hollow trunk a winding staircase

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

of forty-two steps, with sixteen openings lighting it, had been built, and on the top, at a height of 33 feet, was an octagon turret, affording sitting accommodation for six persons and standing space for fourteen more. This staircase was entered at the bottom by a door 2 feet wide and 6 feet 2 inches high.

As long as the Hollow Tree lasted it was much visited, a pilgrimage



THE HOLLOW ELM ON HAMPSTEAD HEATH, 1653.

From a copy of the scarce print by Hollar in the Bell-Moor Collection.

to the Hampstead elm being “a summer-day custom” for the belles and beaux and pleasure-seekers. The Puritan poet, Robert Codrington, was inspired to write a goodly string of heroic couplets descriptive of its delights. The verses, and some by others, were printed round the engraving, which was issued in the form of a broadside and sold on the tree itself, and these records constitute practically all we know about the elm. The lines, however, contain many allusions which help us to a comprehension of the tree’s appearance,

and to a sense of the glorious prospect that opened out on all sides to the gaze of the turreted spectators. The landmarks remain; but what a world of intervening objects—suburbs, house-covered hollows, villages, mansions, and habitations—has arisen since eyes looked forth from Hampstead's Hollow Elm! In spite of every encroachment Hampstead can still overlook it all, and see in the main the same sweep of horizon that greeted the eye from this breezy height in the seventeenth century.

So vast a compass doth thy might command,
That a whole grove within thyself might stand,
And spread and flourish,

sang the poet; adding,

In less room, I find,
With all his trusty knights, King Arthur din'd.

Then, scanning the view from the turret height, he exclaimed:

Six neighbouring counties do on tiptoe all
Gaze on thy mighty limbs, and seem to call
Unto thy patient greatness, when to wait
To pay thee homage for thy nobler height;

going on to speak of the many distant places to be seen—Harrow-on-the-Hill, the “familiar Thames” with her “crystal treasures,” and so on.—A courtly reference followed to

the beauteous ladies that have been
These twice three summers on thy turrets seen,

and the picture was finished off in this exultant strain:

'Tis not smooth Richmond's streams nor Acton's mill,
Nor Windsor's castle, nor yet Shooter's-hill;
Nor groves, nor plains, which further off do stand,
Like landscapes pourtray'd by some happy hand:
But a swift view, which most delightful shows,
And doth them all, and all at once, inclose.

Certain supplementary verses are interesting in that they give us one or two little local pictures of the time. For example, Codrington makes the “elm itself” protest against “some of the new religion, that would make preachment under his reverend shade.” He says:

“Remove your station, friends, I'm not so fickle,
To cast a shade for such a conventicle.”

This is followed by a couple of stanzas from the pen of Michael Sparke, a poetic stationer, writing under the pseudonym of “Scintilla,” whose main

prompting seems to have been a desire to celebrate the curious fact that some foreign scholar, a fellow-countryman of the great Johannes à Commenius (John Amos Comenius),¹ was keeping a school of "twelve young gentlemen" in the turret at the top of the elm. He bids England

blush ; a shame it is to see
An exile here to teach civility,
More than some natives ; and for pious care
To train up youth his pains he doth not spare ;
For he on top of all (this tree) above the shade,
His scholars taught ; where they such verses made
As spread his honours, and do blaze the fame
Of Hampstead School.

In another poem "Scintilla" speaks of the twelve scholars as

Twelve virtuous plants, this exile tutor'd so
Upon this tree : the like let England show.
Drive on to see the youngest branch so flourish,
That *Air*, and *Hill*, and *Well*, and *School* may cherish.

It is a pity we do not know more of this learned exile, his tree-top school, and his pupils ; for he gave Hampstead a start in "higher education" that it has profited by and improved upon. From the elm-turret academy to University College School is a long distance ; but the way has been paved by many worthy successors of the "countryman of Johannes à Commenius." By the way, "Scintilla's" poem, last quoted from, contains perhaps the earliest literary reference to the Hampstead Wells, showing that they were of some fame as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

At this period, it would seem, the religious provision for Hampstead was regarded as adequate. According to the Parliamentary survey of 1649, "there was no Chapel of Ease," "nor need of any, the parish church being well and conveniently situated for the ease of the parishioners."

Many persons of note are mentioned in connection with Hampstead in the

¹ Comenius was in London in 1642, on the invitation of a number of influential people interested in education, and must have met Milton, Evelyn, Theodore Haak, and others at Hartlib's house in Duke's Place, Drury Lane ; but the turmoil of the Civil War was so unfavourable to the carrying out of his schemes that he was compelled to return to Lissa, where he had given up an appointment to come to England. Haak was a prominent Fellow of the Royal Society. The names of Sparke, Comenius, and Hartlib all appear on the title-page of a book entitled "A Reformation of Schooles, designed in two excellent Treatises . . . Written many years ago in Latine by that Reverend, godly, learned, and famous Divine Mr. John Amos Comenius, one of the Seniors of the exiled Church of Moravia ; and now upon the request of many translated into English and published by Samuel Hartlib, for the generall good of the nation. London, printed for Michael Sparke senior, at the Blew Bible in Greene Arbor, 1642."

A.D. 1664. latter half of the seventeenth century. In 1664 Sir Francis Faw and Mrs. Hannah Rushworth were married at Hampstead; and Durham, the son of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, one of Cromwell's lords, was buried there.

After the Restoration, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Attorney-General to Charles II., resided at Hampstead, and Pepys, as he tells us in his *Diary*, "went to
A.D. 1668. speak with him there on some official business" on August 17, 1668, but, meeting him "in the fields by his old route and house," had his necessary chat with him and then went forward to Lord Wotton's at Belsize, Hampstead being evidently familiar ground to the diarist. Palmer was now in high favour, while his neighbour ex-Chief Baron Wilde was looked askance at by the Royalists. Not many years before, the positions had been different: Palmer was a prisoner in the Tower, while Wilde was in high power and a judge. Sir Geoffrey died at Hampstead on May 1, 1670, in the "three score and twelfth year of his age." His body was removed to his chambers in the Middle Temple, where it remained over three weeks, "sett with alle ceremonies belonging to his degree," and was thence conveyed in a hearse for burial to Carleton, in Northamptonshire, the ancient seat of his family, "followed by a great traine of coaches of the nobilitie, the judges and others."

Another of Charles II.'s attorney-generals, Sir William Jones, the "bull-faced Jonas" of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, and friend of William,
A.D. 1671. Lord Russell, was, it appears, living in Hampstead in 1671 and later. The parish register contains entries of the baptism of two of his sons, one on September 24, 1671, and the other on June 22, 1672. The first son died at the age of eight, and the second when just over a year old; both were buried at Hampstead, from which it may be inferred that Sir William Jones and his family resided there for some years.

In 1671 Lady Brett, wife of Sir Robert Brett, was buried at Hampstead.

Lord and Lady Ikerrin were presumably Hampstead residents before 1687, both having been buried at Hampstead, as appears from the register:
A.D. 1687. "The Lady Eleanor Butler Viscountess of Ikerrin, buried Sept. 27, 1687; James Butler, Lord Ikerrin in Ireland, buried Oct. 26, 1688." The latter, who was a captain in the Grenadiers, died of smallpox in London.

Several royal visits were paid to Hampstead in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Soon after his accession, in 1685, the year of the Bloody Assize, James II. visited the place, and the ringers received 5s. in respect of peals in his Majesty's honour; but there seems to be no information as to the occasion of the visit—probably it was some hunting expedition. Three years

later, in 1689, "the Prince" (William of Orange) was in Hampstead, and the ringers received a shilling for their services. A.D. 1689.

Then, in 1692, the Queen (Mary II.) paid a visit, and again the bells rang out their merry peals, for which the ringers were paid 6s.; and in 1694 she "went through" the village, the ringers receiving 1s. 6d. to perform "when the Queen came by." George II., when Prince of Wales, visited Belsize in 1721.¹ A.D. 1692.

Hampstead was fast becoming a place of distinction. During the last two decades of the seventeenth century the parliamentary elections for



SIR CHARLES SEDLEY, BART.

From a picture in the collection of Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset, drawn by J. Thurston, engraved by C. Rolls.

Middlesex were held on Hampstead Heath; subsequent to which they were transferred to Brentford.

It was as a health resort, however, that Hampstead now began to be specially famed. Towards the close of the century Sir Charles Sedley, who had been a noted Restoration *roué*, but at this time was a sobered and probably penitent wreck, sought to regain something of his lost strength in the pure air of Hampstead. There was good as well as bad in Sedley's record. Under William III. he had done State service which was regarded as some set-off to his dissolute days of companionship with Charles II. The brilliant wit, the writer of plays and songs, the *bel esprit* of the shameless times of the

¹ See *post*, p. 222.

“merry monarch,” had come to his better senses by the time of his sojourn in the little cottage on Haverstock Hill. It was here that “the soul of good which lives in things evil” asserted itself. No more did he pipe his love-songs, of which “Phyllis is my only Joy” still survives; the jest and gaiety had gone out of his life; and as he sauntered with feeble steps over the hill-side around his cottage, it was his brief later political career, distinguished by a sound patriotism and statesmanlike support of James II.’s successor, that would assuredly yield him a few pleasant reflections to mingle with the accusing thoughts of the earlier days. Although not much more than sixty, he had outlived nearly all the gay associates of his youth, and under healthier associations had risen to an appreciation of better purposes. Had his early manhood, instead of his declining days, been passed under the more wholesome influence, how much brighter the record of his years might have been! As it was, the ironies of life were continually confronting him. In the royal game of profligacy in which he assisted so conspicuously it was his fate to see his daughter Catherine become the mistress of James II. under the title of the Countess of Dorchester; but even while smarting under that humiliation his love of jest did not forsake him. On the day that he was among those who voted King William and Queen Mary to the throne, he was able to boast that he was at last even with King James. “As he has made my daughter a Countess,” he said, with a bitter smile, “so I have helped to make his daughter a Queen.” The worn-out wit, broken both in fortune and in health, had hoped to derive much benefit from the Hampstead air; but he had deferred

A.D. 1701. his coming too long. In August 1701 he breathed his last in the little cottage on the hill which was afterwards occupied by Sir Richard Steele. We have the testimony of Davenant, who was with Sedley in his last hours, that the baronet “died like a philosopher, without fear or superstition.”¹

¹ *Journal of the Duke of Shrewsbury*, vol. ii. part ii. 793.

CHAPTER IX

AS A FASHIONABLE SPA

Wells and Spas—Dorothy Rippin—The Purging Wells—Dr. Gibbons—Hampstead becomes Fashionable—The Flask Trade—Daily Distribution in London—Widow Keyes—Tenders invited for leasing the Waters—Lease to John Duffield—"Strange Newes from Hampstead"—Evil Spirits abroad—New Buildings—The Great Room—The "Consorts"—Raffling Shop—Sion Chapel Marriages—Duffield in Difficulties—The Heath in Comedy—Mother Huff's—A Varied Company—Wells Frivolities—The Height of Success—Strolling Players prosecuted—Death of Dr. Gibbons—Lively Scenes—A Local Road Surveyor.



WITH the early part of the eighteenth century England—as well as other countries—entered upon a period of Wells and Spas. They sprang up all over the country, sometimes supported by a fair excuse, but more often by only the pretence of one. If there really happened to be a chalybeate or saline spring at the chosen spot, so much the better; if not, there was water of some sort, and, encouraged by an imaginative physician as sponsor, the public would readily rise to the lure, especially if the place was easily accessible and the neighbourhood picturesque.

Hampstead was an ideal place for Wells as far as beauty of situation was concerned; and as for the water, had not Dorothy Rippin in Charles II.'s time made money by the sale of water "at the Well in Hampstead"? Had not she been allowed to issue her halfpenny token—her own special trade currency—with the "well and bucket" depicted on its obverse?¹ Had not the Gainsboroughs given their charitable blessing to the "medicinal spring" by the endowment of 1698? That spring was a tangible asset in the building up of Hampstead's reputation as a Spa—a watering-place without the sea. The

¹ Beyond the evidence of the token, little if anything seems to be known of Dorothy Rippin. There was a Thomas Rippin, or Rippon, however, who was parish clerk at this period, and died of the plague in 1665, and it is more than probable that Dorothy was a daughter or other relative of his (see chap. vii. p. 152).

Wells Charity had been founded on this spring. Moreover, the fluid was unpleasant to the taste. The public would never have believed in the medicinal virtues of a water that was palatable. Then, when well-hunters came upon the scene, and began to probe farther into the Hampstead hills, other springs of more or less use to ailing humanity were discovered. Some light is thrown on the water situation in Hampstead at this time by an entry in the Manor Court Rolls for the year 1700. It had been ordered "that the spring lying by the *Purging Wells* be forthwith brought to the towne of Hampstead at the p'ish charge, and yt y^e money and profits arising thereout be applied towards the Poor's Rate hereafter to be made." The money-making side of the question was not lost sight of even in those days.

The people of Hampstead, and in particular one or two local medical practitioners, were convinced of the existence of the right sort of water in the village; the problem was, how to get the outside world to come to it—how to make it profitable? For some time Hampstead, as we have seen, had been something of a fashionable resort in summer, and many good families had residences there; but a much wider patronage was required to entitle the village to be ranked with such popular Spas as Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Buxton, Malvern, Cheltenham, Scarborough, Harrogate, Boston Spa, and Epsom. In addition to the waters, there must be amusements. It was not sufficient for Dr. Gibbons, the Hampstead physician, to maintain that the Hampstead waters "were full as efficacious in all cases where ferruginous waters are advised as any chalybeate waters in England, unless Scarborough Spa, which is purgative"; nor did the endorsement of this opinion by non-resident doctors suffice. Soon, therefore, the amusement providers came to the rescue. When both the waters and the entertainments were well advertised, the difficulty was looked upon as solved.

Hampstead was too near London to be fashionable in the sense that Bath, or Tunbridge Wells, or Scarborough was fashionable. Londoners, accustomed to the "nymphs and swains with beaux and belles that tempted them to Sadler's Wells," to the dancing-rooms and raffling-shops of the New Tunbridge Wells at Islington, to the bowling-greens and sequestered walks of Marylebone Gardens, to hearing the nightingales sing and the bands play at the Spring Garden (afterwards Vauxhall Gardens), were not to be drawn so far afield as Hampstead without equivalent attractions. So it came about that both the water-drinkers and the mere pleasure-seekers were after a time

duly catered for, and during a decade or two Hampstead enjoyed a considerable reputation as a popular resort.

The trustees of the Wells Charity began to advertise their medicinal spring in 1700. Their plan was not so much the attracting of people to Hampstead as the creation of a demand for flasks of the water. The following announcement appeared in the *Postman* of April 18-20 in that year : A.D. 1700.

The Chalybeate Waters at Hampstead, being of the same nature, and equal in virtue with Tunbridge Wells, and highly approved of by most of the eminent physicians of the college, as likewise by many of the gentry who formerly used to drink Tunbridge waters, are, by direction of the Trustees of the Wells aforesaid, for the conveniency of those who yearly drink them in London, carefully bottled up in flasks, and sent to Mr. Phelps, Apothecary, at the Eagle and Child in Fleet street, every morning, at the rate of 3d. per flask ; and if any person desires to have them brought to their own houses, they will be conveyed to them upon their leaving a note at Mr. Phelps's aforesaid at 1d. per flask more. And to prevent any person being imposed upon, the true waters are nowhere else to be procured, unless they are sent for to the Wells at Hampstead. And the said Mr. Phelps, to prevent Counterfeits, hath ordered his servants to deliver to each person who comes for any of the waters aforesaid, a sealed ticket, viz., a wolf rampant, with seven cross crosslets. Note.—The messengers that come for the waters must take care to return the flasks daily.

This was an exceedingly simple proceeding, and did not commit the trustees to any schemes of frivolity ; but it did not yield much money to the Charity. Mr. Phelps farmed the selling rights for a time, and made what he could of them, paying (or agreeing to pay) a certain rental to the trustees. Later it was thought advisable to give greater facilities of purchase—probably after Phelps had relinquished his connection with the spring—and the public were informed that the “Hampstead mineral water,” which certain London doctors were evidently prescribing “for several distempers,” was “brought fresh from Hampstead Wells every day to Mr. Adams, glass-seller, near Holborn-bars ; to Mrs. Cresset's at The Sugar-loaf at Charing Cross ; to Nando's coffee-house near Temple bar ; to Sam's coffee-house near Ludgate ; to The Salmon in Stock's market ; and by Mr. Pratt to The Greyhound in King street, by Bloomsbury ; to Howe's coffee-house in Cheapside by The Half-moon Tavern ; and to The Black Post in King street near Guildhall (the owner of the Wells dwelling-house) and no where else in London.”

The Hampstead water-flask was indeed a thing of note in its time, and to this day is commemorated in local nomenclature, there being still a Flask Tavern, while Flask Walk is one of Hampstead's oldest public ways. Most of the associations of the flask period, however, have disappeared. The existing Flask Tavern is a modern building erected in 1873, standing on the site of the

original tavern of that name, generally called in its earlier history The Lower Flask. It was here that the medicinal water was bottled, the carrier's waggon calling daily for the supplies to be distributed in London. The water was not, as is generally supposed, taken from the spring in Well Walk, where a modern fountain until lately trickled somewhat ingloriously, but from the head spring



COTTAGES AT THE BOTTOM OF FLASK WALK, 1910.

From a photograph.

or pond, called the Bath Pond in later years, a hundred yards or so higher on the hill. This head spring was not included in the leases afterwards granted to speculators, the trustees carrying on their separate flask business from this source for some years later.

From the announcements already quoted it is easy to gather that the "Trustees of Hampstead Mineral Waters" had a good deal of trouble with their lessees, agents, and servants. In an advertisement in the *Postman* of

August 27 to 29, 1700, they “certify” that the Widow Keyes is discharged A.D. 1700. from the Wells, and carries no more of the said waters, the trustees now employing only Mr. Adams, a potter at Holborn Bars, to “deliver out the said mineral waters.” This was the Mr. Adams, glass-seller, of the previous advertisement. The announcement continues: “If any other person pretends to bring Hampstead Waters, they are desired to try them, so that they be not cheated.” Then follows the important notification that the trustees are prepared to “let the said waters, with six acres of land, by lease or yearly rent,” and “such as desire to treat about the same” are requested to meet the trustees at Craddock’s Coffee-house, Hampstead, “every Saturday from 10 to 12 in the morning until the 29th of September next.”

In this way the door was opened to outside speculation. It was beyond the province of the trustees to expend money in building on or laying out their six acres of land ; nor could they set up as amusement caterers. They determined, therefore, to lease the land and the springs (with the exception referred to) and let someone else provide the pleasures. How many persons waited upon the trustees at their Saturday conferences at Craddock’s Coffee-house to tender for the lease it is not known. The only information available is to the effect that John Duffield took a lease of the land and springs, except the upper (or flask) spring, from June 2, 1701, at a yearly rent of £50, for a term A.D. 1701. of 21 years. There was a reservation providing that the inhabitants of Hampstead and their children and servants should be permitted to drink or carry away gratis every day “so much of the said purging waters” as they should have occasion for ; but the visits of the villagers were to be made “between the hours of five and twelve of the clock in the forenoon,” leaving the afternoons and evenings for John Duffield and his visitors to make what they could of their opportunities. There was one other special reservation. Widow Keyes (the former custodian and dispenser of the waters) and Michael Lydall, “or either of their children,” servants, or agents, were prohibited from entering the premises and carrying away “any of the waters there” without Duffield’s leave. Michael Lydall had probably been assistant to the widow. In what way Mrs. Keyes had offended the trustees we are not told ; it is pretty safe to assume that the question of rent had something to do with the matter.

The Widow Keyes had sympathisers, and there were many who thought her harshly dealt with. This is rather strikingly shown in a contemporary piece of verse (in manuscript) now in the possession of the

Hampstead Public Libraries,¹ and probably written in 1700, the year of the widow's dismissal. The lines, valuable for their many local allusions, bear a comprehensive title: "Strange Newes from Hampstead—giveing an Account how divers Evil Spiritts did on saturday the 17th day of March last appear in the night on the new walke neare ye Wells. And tear upp a hundred trees by the Roots And afterwards almost killed a Black Cow tooke the blood and then vanished away." The composition opens thus:

Att Hampstead towne, Of High renowne,
Well known by Mother Huff's,
The prospect's faire, And healthy Aire
There gently blowes & puffs.
The Noble Lord of the Manor there
Did grant & well secure
A certeyne peice of ground to bee
Improved for the poore.

This land was made unto Trustees,
The best men in the Towne,
Fowerteene att least there were of these
To see all fairely done.
These worthy men stak'd out the Land,
Fenc't in the same & ditch'd,
But all the Rabble thereabouts
Did think they were bewitch'd.

The Noissy people att New End
& Mobb about the towne
Did oft consult about this worke
& Swore they'd throw itt downe.
They thought the Land & Wells were their's
For them, Or for their beasts,
And what Lord & Trustees could doe
They counted shamms & feasts.

By this it is clear that the Hampstead people of that time were as jealous of their rights as are their successors of to-day; but in 1700 the opposition was not strong enough to prevent the work of the trustees and their lessee Duffield from being proceeded with, which was perhaps fortunate, since the construction of Well Walk and the buildings connected with the Wells did much to enhance the fame of Hampstead.

Disturbed they were about these works
While they were in the darke,
Some said a Warren was design'd,
And some did think a Parke;

¹ This is fully described and annotated by Mr. E. E. Newton in *The Hampstead Annual* for 1906-7, pp. 131-138.

Some thought 'twas for a New Exchange,
 And some said for a faire,
 But others said they'd build a Range
 And call it Hampstead Square.

If that (said they) bee their intent
 The Towne will bee quite undone,
 For they may make a Monument
 As high as that in London,
 And when the Gentry hither come
 In Coaches for to see't
 They'll not come into Hampstead towne
 But all go through—POND STREET.

This prospect was viewed with alarm. If visitors could get to the new resort by way of Pond Street and the East Heath they would be lost to Red Lion Hill (now Rosslyn Hill) and High Street—therefore practically lost to Hampstead. We learn, then, that

For all this Noise Trustees went on
 & raised a Noble walke
 Upon the ground hard by the wells
 For friends to meet & talke.
 Along this walke they planted well
 A hundred fine young trees,
 Which made these Evil Spiritts rise
 And Buzze about like Bees.

The sequel shows that the "Evil Spiritts" tore up all these hundred trees, "pull'd downe Gate & posts & all," and "left a Paper by the trees" explaining that what was done was to avenge "mother Keyes," for whom it is claimed that "shee a Freeholder" was "of waters, house, & land," holding by a double right of "Possession & prescription." Neither poetry nor prose would serve Widow Keyes, it seems: she is heard of no more in the history of the Hampstead Wells. The hundred new trees may have been destroyed; but others could be put in their place. At all events, as we hear of no further interruption, the improvements seem to have been carried out.

Building operations were entered on before the date of the lease to Duffield, which shows what eagerness there was to get into the fashion of the time and exploit the springs. Buildings of a rather primitive kind were already in existence, and these Duffield undertook to keep in repair; but they were not at all suited to the requirements of such a modish throng as it was hoped to attract. Duffield was under covenant to spend £300 within the first three years of his lesseeship in "building and in improvements";

and in a very short time a large structure, of no external architectural pretensions, known as the Great Room, dominated the Hampstead landscape. It stood on the south side of the Well Walk, not more than a hundred yards from the East Heath. The Great Room was the name given to it in the advertisements; it was also called the Assembly Room, and sometimes the Pump Room, as such buildings were designated at other Spas. The building, the plainness of which was partly relieved by long windows, was



THE PUMP ROOM, WELL WALK, HAMPSTEAD, ABOUT 1830.

From a drawing in the Coates Collection.

90 feet in length and about 36 feet wide. Nearly two-thirds of the space was used for a ball and assembly room; the remaining portion, at the north end, was set apart for pump-room purposes, a large basin filled directly from the chalybeate spring being at the service of those who desired to "take the waters." The grounds were laid out after the fashion of the time, with lawns and winding paths, and arbours and flower-beds, and there was a bowling-green for the patrons of what was then the Englishman's most popular pastime.

In the very first autumn of Duffield's tenancy the Great Room was in full swing, and Hampstead was laying itself out for a course of fashionable excitement.

A new tavern was erected, new shops were built, new lodging-houses were opened; Hampstead Wells gave the neighbourhood a new reputation. There were bun-houses, tea-shops, trinket-shops, shops of fancy ware and fineries, and all the usual set-out of the Spa places of the period; while for those who wanted keener excitement there were the raffling-shops, where money was lost and won with a light-hearted recklessness characteristic of the gallants of the days of Anne. From the references to these dens of dissipation in the *Tatler* for August 1709, it would appear that neither the allurements held forth nor the methods adopted were above reproach. A.D. 1709. "I am diverted from my train of discourse," writes the guardian of manners, "of the fraternity about this town by letters from Hampstead, which give me an account there is a late institution there, under the name of a raffling-shop, which is, it seems, secretly supplied by a person who is a deep practitioner in the law, and, out of tenderness to conscience, has under the name of his maid Sisly, set up this easier way of conveyancing and alienating estates from one family to another. He is so far from having an intelligence with the rest of the fraternity that all the humbler cheats who appear there are faced by the partners in the bank, and driven off by the reflection of superior brass. This notice is given to all the silly faces that pass that way, that they may not be decoyed in by the soft allurement of a fine lady, who is the sign to the pageantry; and at the same time Signior Hawkesly, who is the patron of the household, is desired to leave off this interloping trade, or admit, as he ought to do, the knights of the industry to their share in the spoil."

Another *Tatler* reference of the same month mentions the arrival at Hampstead of a coxcomb "of a kind which is utterly new," who is described as "a fellow of courage, taking himself to be obliged to give proofs of every hour he lives. He is ever fighting with the men, and contradicting the women. A lady who sent him to me, superscribed him with this description out of Suckling :

I am a man of war and might,
And know this much that I can fight,
Whether I am in the wrong or right
Devoutly.

No woman under heaven I fear,
New oaths I can exactly swear;
And forty healths my brains will bear
Most stoutly."

Naturally, the success of the Wells brought rivals into the field. In May 1709 appeared an advertisement¹ intimating that “at the sign of the Thatch’d House and Flask at Hampstead” on the following Saturday “the Bowling Green and New Wells” would be opened, when there would be “Musick every Saturday, and at the House an Ordinary every day at 2 a clock.” How long this was continued I have not been able to discover.

There were gay doings in Hampstead between the time of the granting of the first lease to John Duffield and the signing of the irregular sub-lease from Duffield to his friend and financial backer, Luffingham. Although Duffield paid not a farthing of the rent, the Wells had all the appearance of a prosperous resort for the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century, and some one must have made money there. Duffield himself evidently lived in good style: in the manorial records of the year
 A.D. 1706. 1706 there is an entry stating that “John Duffield hath built himself a good bricke house at a cost of £1000.” Mr. G. W. Potter is of opinion, from the description given in the record,² that this house was, in all or in part, that now called Foley House, illustrated on p. 208, vol. ii.

The Great Room presented a lively scene from day to day, from night to night. Visitors assembled early and remained late. A band played, and dancing was kept up with unflagging vigour in the main hall; for those who preferred cards, or dice, or the sort of roulette that was then played, the raffling-shops provided easy means of winning or losing, the gaming-tables being as free from molestation as are the tables of Monte Carlo at the present day. The bowling-green was ever busy; and as for walks, talks, and flirtations, facilities were afforded by the secluded shade of the Well Walk avenues, the open Heath beyond, and the far-spreading glades of Ken Wood, then unenclosed.

Arabella, one of the female characters in Baker’s comedy *Hampstead Heath*, which was played at Drury Lane in 1705, hits off the whole round of these amusements in a sentence. “Well, this *Hampstead’s* a charming place,” she says; “to dance all Night at the Wells, be treated at *Mother Huff’s*, to have Presents made one at the Raffling-Shops, and then take a Walk in *Cane Wood* with a Man of Wit that’s not over rude.” Another character vows he is going “to meet some honest fellows at *Mother Huff’s*, who resolve to be staggeringly drunk, sing, and rant like the *Jacobite* Party at a piece of ill News, till we put the Nation in an Uproar.” When the chief female character

¹ *Daily Courant*, May 9, 1709.

² *Hampstead Wells*.

is told that her husband has been seen on the Heath, she exclaims, "O impertinent! my Sea-Coal City Husband! Now will the sweet Air of *Hampstead* be poyson'd with the Scent of *Fleet Ditch*!" This comedy was played for three nights, the 30th and 31st of October and the 1st of November 1705;¹ but it was only an adaptation of a slightly older comedy called *An Act at Oxford*, the principal scene of which had originally been laid in the university city. As Tom D'Urfey says in the preface to his *Modern Prophets*, Baker had "by conjuring brought Oxford upon Hampstead Heath"; adding, "It required no great conjuring to effect this, as by far the greater part of the scenes in an Oxford Act might just as well be supposed to take place on Hampstead Heath—such parts of the dialogue as related particularly to Oxford were of course omitted, or written afresh." This, however, does not weaken the value of the Hampstead allusions, which, as our quotation shows, were redolent of the place and the period. That it was regarded as a production of some importance is shown by the fact that Mrs. Oldfield took the part of Arabella, while other characters were sustained by such prominent players as Mrs. Mountfort, Mr. Cibber, and Mr. Wilks. At one time Cibber, Wilks, and another actor, Booth, had lodgings at Hampstead, in the house in Froggnal afterwards used as a workhouse.

The general gaiety of Hampstead about this time encouraged certain theatrical speculators to erect a playhouse in the town. This was too much for some of the good people. They could put up with Mother Huff's and the raffling-shops, the frivolities of the Great Room and the vagaries of Sion Chapel; but a playhouse! it was not to be tolerated under any circumstances. And all the evidence we possess of this attempt to provide dramatic entertainment for Hampstead residents and visitors in 1709 is what we gather A.D. 1709. from a memorial for the suppression of the playhouse. A general parish meeting, presided over by the vicar, the Rev. Humphrey Zouch, was held in the church, and resulted in a memorial, signed by the vicar and nineteen parishioners of Hampstead, being sent to the justices of the peace for Middlesex, "humbly hoping and desiring" that the Justices "and other persons religiously active in the suppressing of vice and immorality" would "direct and assist" the memorialists in their action against the playhouse "lately erected at the said town of Hampstead," without the "consent and approbation" of the memorialists.² In September of that year "Mr. Goff's new playhouse in Hampstead" was advertised, "to be conducted with greater decorum than the

¹ Advertisement in the *Daily Courant*, Oct. 30, 31, and Nov. 1, 1705.

² Hodgkin MSS. p. 345.

one before,"¹ so it may be presumed that some middle course had been arrived at by which the moralists were mollified.

Mother Huff's, by the way, was ostensibly a tea-house, and stood not far from The Spaniards. Mr. G. W. Potter, in his *Random Recollections*, says that this house "is shown on an old map, at that part of the Heath where the house called The Elms is now situated."² It was to Mother Huff's that visitors resorted to have their fortunes told; and the Hampstead sibyl, in addition to revealing the future to her patrons, was not averse from aiding them in their assignations. Thus, although the Well Walk and its surroundings were at this period frequented by a good and even fashionable class, Duffield and his associates relied to a great extent upon the patronage of the pleasure-hunting multitude of London. It was by a too persistent catering for this section of the community that the folk who at first had found healthful relaxation on the heights of Hampstead gradually withdrew themselves from the scene, leaving it ultimately to the "rakish and disreputable element." Another of the characters in *Hampstead Heath*, already mentioned, hits off the idiosyncrasies of the frequenters of the Great Room at the Wells in these terms: "Assemblies so near the Town give us a Sample of each Degree. We have Court Ladies, that are all Air and no Dress; City Ladies, that are over-dress'd and no Air; and Country Dames, with broad brown Faces like a *Stepney* bun; besides an endless number of *Fleetstreet* Sempstresses, that dance Minuets in their Furbeloe scarfs, and their Cloaths hang as loose about 'em as their Reputations."

Perhaps Duffield and Luffingham started with higher ideas; but it was evident they were more bent upon quick money-making than upon maintaining Hampstead's credit for respectability. For the first few years of the eighteenth century the entertainments given at the Wells were of a distinctly better class than those which followed. In the *Postman* of August 14-16, 1701, it was announced: "At Hampstead Wells, on Monday next, being the 18th of this instant August, will be performed a Consort of both vocal and instrumental musick, with some particular performance of both kinds, by the best masters, to begin at 10 o'clock precisely. Tickets will be delivered at the said Wells for 1s. per ticket; and Dancing in the afternoon for 6d. per ticket, to be delivered as before." This would be a *matinée musicale* in the strict sense. But on the 25th of the same month a very special concert,

¹ *Daily Courant*, 17th September 1709.

² In a manuscript plan of the Heath surveyed in 1680, where a road is shown leading to Mother Huff's. This plan is at the Central Public Library in Finchley Road. See also *ante*, p. 133.

the tickets for which were five shillings each, "to be had only at the Wells at Hampstead," was given, "at the request of several people of Quality living at Hampstead and round about." The great attraction was Mr. Abell, the "celebrated lutenist and alto singer," once of his Majesty's Chapel extraordinary, but discharged at the Revolution as a Papist, afterwards, until about 1700, living abroad, singing with success in many capitals. At the time of his appearance at Hampstead he was in great vogue, the stories related of him, combined with his fine singing, ensuring him popularity. Hampstead knew of his adventures in foreign lands, and especially of his encounter with the King of Poland, before whom he had refused to sing while in Warsaw. The refusal was followed by a royal command to attend at the palace. Abell obeyed the summons, and on his arrival was asked to sit on a chair placed for him in the middle of a large hall. He no sooner sat down than the chair was drawn up into the air until it faced a gallery wherein sat the king and his courtiers. Then, into the empty hall beneath, a number of bears were let loose, and it was for Abell to sing or be let down to the bears. He sang—never better in his life, he confessed—a handsome *douceur* making the *amende* for the unique conditions under which he had been compelled to perform. There is no report of the Hampstead concert available, but we may be sure that residents and visitors mustered in good force to do honour to the romantic alto singer. This was an afternoon concert opening "at four of the clock precisely."

The "consorts" were usually given in the forenoon, and the price of the tickets, except on extraordinary occasions, was one shilling each. There was one on the 15th September 1701, advertised in the *Postman* as follows: "In the Great Room at Hampstead Wells, on Monday next, being the 15th instant, exactly at 11 o'clock forenoon, will be performed a Consort of vocal and instrumental musick, by the best masters; and, at the request of several gentlemen, Jemmy Bowen will perform several songs, and particular performances on the violin by 2 several masters. Tickets to be had at the Wells, and at Stephen's Coffee-house in King-street, Bloomsbury, at 1s. each ticket. There will be Dancing in the afternoon, as usual."

Similar concerts appear to have been given each year. In 1702 they began in May, one being announced in the *English Post* of the 8th May, to be given in the "Great Room at Hampstead Wells on Monday the 11th May, with violin by Mr. Dean." These concerts began "exactly at 11 a clock, rain or fair," and were to continue "every Monday at the same place and time, during the season of drinking the waters." It was notified

that tickets could be had at one shilling "by reason the room is very large." On this point a later advertisement is more explicit, giving as excuse for the low price of the tickets that "the room will hold near 500 persons." The "Whitson Monday Consort" of that year began at 10 A.M., when in addition to Mr. Dean and his violin, there was "singing by Mr. Hughes and others." On the 27th July 1702 the concert included "Instrumental Musick composed by John Eccles for the Coronation" of Queen Anne; and "several of Mr. Weldon's songs" were to be "sung by Mr. Hughs and the Boy." This was a half-crown concert and began at 5 P.M.

The season of 1703 at the Wells opened on Monday the 18th May with "Musick and Dancing all day long and so on every Monday all the season," an opening concert being given on the date named "for the benefit of Mr. Hughs," when he was to sing "the song sung by him before Her Majesty." Further, there were "entertainments by Mr. Dean and Signore Francesco, three new songs by Mr. Hughs, Song for the Trumpet, Sonata for two Trumpets, and an Extraordinary Entertainment on the Arch-Lute."

In 1705 it was announced that a Cold Bath had been erected in connection with "one of the best springs on the Heath, lying between the Old Green and New Green, adjoyning to the Spaw-Water," where there was "all conveniency for hot and cold bathing." Concerts were given in the Great Room as usual that year. There was a programme of "part songs with a trumpet and other instruments set by Henry Purcel and Mr. Eccles and sung by Mr. Cook, Davis, and others," on Saturday, 18th August of that year, "beginning at six o'clock." This may be taken as a sample of the rest. It was the year of the production of the comedy *Hampstead Heath* at Drury Lane, but as the performances did not take place until the end of October and the beginning of November, the production could not have been of much use in advertising the Wells for that year. Coffee, it may be noted, was "raised from 1d. to 1½d. per dish" in the season of 1705.

The Wells were opened on Whit Monday in 1706, and continued "every Monday during the season of water-drinking." Special dancing displays were made a feature of the "consorts" that year. At one of these "several entertainments of dancing, especially the ladder dance by Mr. Robinson," were promised; at another there was "Scaramouch and other dancing by Mr. Layfield" and an "entertainment of Tumbling," the high admission price of 2s. 6d. being charged. Trouble continued to be experienced, however, in regard to the distribution of the Hampstead mineral water in London, judging

from the frequent changes of distributing houses. On four separate days in June 1706 the following advertisement appeared in the *Daily Courant*:

These are to acquaint all Persons that have occasion to drink Hampstead Mineral Water, that the said Water is remov'd from North's Coffee House in King's Street by Guildhall, to the second door from the said Coffee-House in the same Street, to the Black Post which is writ upon, Hampstead Water sold here, where it will continue to be brought fresh from the Wells every morning.

The newspapers of this period also afford a few names and other local references of interest. Thus from an advertisement of a "horse stolen out of Mr. Brown's ground near Hamstead" we get the information that the "Hamstead Water-Office" at that time was "against the Watch House in High Holborn," it being there that the reward for the recovery of the stolen animal would be paid. A famed Hampstead tree is alluded to in a paragraph recording the fact that one "Simeon Stoddard, a merchant, lately lodging at Mr. John Ravenscraft's House over against the Great Elm" had been found murdered "in a gravel-pit near Bloody Bridge, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields." We have "the Society of the Hampstead Waters" spoken of in the mention of a farm belonging to it "on the left hand going up Highgate, near the Cow and Hare." Evidence of Sir Thomas Lane's residence in Hampstead is given in the announcement that the "large convenient house in Pond Street . . . of 5 rooms on a floor" in which Sir Thomas had "lately dwelt" is for sale.

The concerts and balls in the Great Room were continued each season without much variation. A few special attractions were offered now and then; Mr. Dean "would perform a solo which he never did in publick before," "a girl of nine years, a scholar of Mr. Tenoe's, would sing, likewise a trumpet tune of his own," and so on, deteriorating in merit each year, while grosser attractions were forced forward. In 1710 it was advertised that "The Bath at Hampstead . . . which was damaged by the great frost in 1708" was then "in good order"; and in 1712 the public were informed that "the Cold Baths at Hampstead 'were' in better order than usual."

The Hampstead Wells were at the height of their first success from 1707 until about 1713. The season began in May and continued far into autumn. In the *Postboy* of May 8-10, 1707, "all persons that have occasion to drink Hampstead Mineral Waters" were informed that "the said Well will be opened on Monday next, with very good music for dancing all day long"; it was added that "there is all needful accommodation for water-drinkers of both sex, and all other entertainments for good eating and

A.D. 1713.

drinking, and a very pleasant bowling-green, with convenience of coach-horses, and very good stables for fine horses, with good attendance, and a farther accommodation of a stage-coach and chariot from the Wells at any time in the evening or morning."

Coaching between London and Hampstead, however, must have been a difficult business in those days. On the main highways along which the mail coaches serving the Post Office travelled some attempt was made to keep the roads in fair repair, but away from those routes the parish authorities were lax in their efforts. Road-making was a little-understood art, even when the turnpike system was first adopted, and highway trustees were much at the mercy of inefficient or dishonest servants. The roads "leading towards Highgate gatehouse and Hampstead," as well as others beyond the Hampstead boundaries, were looked after in 1717 and later by one Gilbert Edwards, but the trustees of those highways becoming dissatisfied with his work he was discharged, and a Chancery suit resulted.¹ The recitals in the bill filed by the trustees afford some items of information. It appears that in pursuance of the power granted to them by Act of Parliament, they had erected rails, gates, and turnpikes across the roads, and Edwards having applied and represented himself as well qualified to undertake the repairs of the roads, they had appointed him one of their surveyors. Between July 6, 1717, and February 27, 1719, they had paid him altogether £1802:19:2, to be expended on material, wages for workmen, carts, and carriages, etc., but they could not bring him to a proper accounting for this expenditure. Therefore their application to the court. Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, himself a Hampstead resident, heard the cause, and Edwards was ordered to come to an account before the Master of the Court.

Dr. Gibbons, no doubt, would view the lighter diversions indulged in around the Wells with a good deal of disfavour, for only a very small proportion of the visitors came to "take the waters" and medical treatment. Still, making all allowances, the enthusiastic doctor must have experienced a considerable increase in the number of his patients, for during the fashionable period there were always a good many invalid visitors of the better class, and most of these would follow his example and drink two or three glasses a day from the "medicinal spring," at the same time putting themselves under treatment. Faith is a great thing in these cases; and although the water, in spite of the elaborate and extravagantly worded analysis that the doctor

¹ Enrolled Decrees, Chancery, 1720, Roll 1398, No. 4.

had published, was simply pure spring water with a slight and not unusual chalybeate element, the belief that it was beneficial would work wonders, and the Hampstead air, a plain dietary, and bracing exercise would do the rest. Dr. Gibbons died in 1725.



WELL WALK, WITH A VIEW OF THE PRESENT WELL, 1911.

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

One of the leading residents of Hampstead at this period was John Hibbert, "citizen and skinner of London," who in addition to a house at Hampstead had a city residence in St. Bartholomew Close, and was a man of wealth and a large landowner. Among the property mentioned in his will, and concerning which there was litigation, was "his house at Hampstead and also his coach and coach horses and his copyhold messuage at Hampstead."

The proceedings were complicated and protracted, lasting from 1718 to 1723, and were ultimately settled by arrangement.¹

While the Wells were the fashion Hampstead must have presented a very lively scene from day to day during the season. Those were the times when men were attired in powdered wigs, laced ruffles, three-cornered hats, long coats, knee-breeches, and silk stockings; when fine ladies wore stiff brocades over enormous hooped petticoats, coiffures of gigantic size, and



THE YORKSHIRE GREY, HAMPSTEAD, 1886, JUST BEFORE ITS DEMOLITION.

The view shows the front of the house looking towards Little Church Row and running parallel with it. The whole area was pulled down for Town Improvements.

From a drawing by H. Lawes in the Coates Collection.

patches; when courtly airs and affectations were the veneer of much coarseness in speech and manner, for there still lingered in the national character something of the Restoration laxity. The more fashionable habitués of Hampstead Wells were of this class—the class that sauntered and simpered in the Mall of St. James's Park, strolled on the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells, haunted the Pump Room at Bath, and graced the shaded groves of Kensington Gardens and Gray's Inn. Hampstead was now within the regular fashionable round. It

¹ Enrolled Decrees, Chancery, 1718, Roll 1796, No. 10.

was, indeed, a great pleasure haunt in those days. Visitors arrived and departed daily, there being a good stage-coach service between Hampstead and London. One coach started for Hampstead several times a day from The Black Swan in Holborn, another from The Blue Posts, Tottenham Court Road, by Oxford Street, and a third from James's Street, Covent Garden; and many persons came in their own coaches or carriages or on horseback, while not a few walked to and fro.



THE OLD WHITE HORSE, SOUTH END GREEN, HAMPSTEAD, 1869. TWICE REBUILT SINCE.

From a drawing by J. T. Wilson in the Coates Collection.

Houses of call and refreshment were numerous in and around Hampstead during the whole of the eighteenth century. There was The King's Head (renamed the William the Fourth Tavern on the occasion of that monarch visiting Hampstead, and still retaining the name) in High Street; The Hawk, a small beer-house in New End, opposite the side entrance to Burgh House, still standing, but now used as a private house; The Perseverance, a beer-house at South End Green; The Cock and Crown, The Black Boy and Still, The Yorkshire Grey—the last three being pulled down for town improvements in

1886. There was a Noah's Ark, as we gather from a notification given by the landlord of that inn in 1713, John Nore, setting up the hue and cry for his wife Sarah, "with a child at her breast $4\frac{1}{2}$ months old," Sarah having eloped with one David Smith, "taking money and valuables."¹ Others, which in later times have been rebuilt, are The White Horse at South End Green;² The Horse and Groom, The Nag's Head, The Coach and Horses, and The Three Horse Shoes, all in Heath Street; The Rosslyn Arms, and Bird-in-Hand, in



THE COCK AND HOOP, WEST END, HAMPSTEAD, 1869.

From a drawing by J. T. Wilson in the Coates Collection.

High Street. The Wells Tavern, in Well Walk, was previously to its rebuilding called The Green Man, not to be confused with another Green Man of much older date at North End, already mentioned.³ The present Flask Tavern, in Flask Walk, occupies the site of a much older tavern of the same name, sometimes called The Lower Flask, to distinguish it from its superior neighbour in Heath Street, called The Upper Flask, and fully noticed elsewhere in these *Annals*. The Cock and Hoop, at West End (illustrated above), was a distinctly

¹ *London Gazette*, August 15-18, 1713.

² Illustrated on p. 193.

³ *Ante*, p. 134.

rural country inn, with fine tea and pleasure gardens; it was pulled down in 1902 to make way for a block of flats now called "Alexandra Mansions." In this neighbourhood was also The Black Lion, recently rebuilt. The oldest existing date on a Hampstead public-house is that on The White Bear at New End, which has a stone on its front with the inscription, "M.S. 1704." The King of Bohemia, in High Street, is still older, but the front has been altered. In an advertisement of 1680, people interested are directed to enquire at the "King of Bohemia's Head in Hampstead."¹ Jack Straw's Castle is so called in a newspaper of 1713, which announces that Hampstead Wake would begin on Saturday the 1st August of that year and would continue the Monday and Tuesday following, "to be kept at the sign of Jack Straw's Castle";² and The Bull and Bush of song and story, elsewhere mentioned, also is of early eighteenth-century times. Another old inn, demolished in 1868, was The Red Lion at the top of Rosslyn Hill, which thoroughfare took its name from the hostelry, being called Red Lion Hill. On the site was built the Police Station, removed thither from the place where now stands the Fire Brigade Station at the corner of Heath Street and Holly Hill; and yet another inn was the Shakespeare's Head on Hampstead Heath, a son of the proprietor of which was killed by lightning in 1765.³

Among the local place-names existing at the end of the seventeenth century but now disused was that of Broad Corner, which seems to have been an alternative name for New End, certain Chancery proceedings relating to the first decade of the eighteenth century mentioning a copyhold messuage and adjacent land at "New End *alias* Broad Corner."⁴

¹ The *City Mercury*, March 17, 1680. The advertisement referred to is of "a fair house, containing three rooms on a floor," about an acre of garden, and eight acres of pasture, "near the Lord Wootton's."

² The *Post-Boy*, July 25-28, 1713.

³ The *Universal Museum and Complete Magazine*, August 1765.

⁴ Enrolled Decrees, Chancery, Roll 1750, No. 3.

CHAPTER X

HAMPSTEAD'S KIT-CAT DAYS

The Upper Flask—The Kit-Cat Club—Other Clubs—Kneller and the Portraits—The Kit-Cat in Literature—Kit-Cat Toasts—Toasting a Young Beauty—Garth and "The Dispensary"—Kit-Cat Pies—Steele at Haverstock Hill—Steele's Precepts—Steele's Practices—Kit-Cat Members and their Foibles—Steele's Domestic Diplomacy—The Wells in Decadence—A Gaming-room Incident—Duffield's Entanglement—The Long Room becomes a Chapel—A Queer Water Question.



AMONG the more notable visitors to the village in the early part of the eighteenth century were many of the writers who contributed to the literary fame of the Queen Anne period. To Hampstead came Steele, Addison, Swift, Pope, Garth, Arbuthnot, Parnell, Blackmore, and others. So enamoured of the place were the essayists, wits, painters, and literati of those *Spectator* and *Tatler* days that the members of the famous Kit-Cat Club used to hold their summer meetings at The Upper Flask Tavern, a house of high repute, with spacious gardens and grounds.

It was a time of Clubs and Coffee-houses—of the Scriblerus Club, the Cocoa-Tree, the October, the Beefsteak, and many others, amongst which the Vertuoso's Club, founded by some of the members of the Royal Society, deserves mention here if only for the fact that one of its projects was "the conveying of Hamstead Air into the City of London by Subterranean Pipes, as they do the New River Water, for the benefit of all Sickly or Consumptive Families."¹ Some local interest also attaches to the social club called "The Honourable Order of Little Bedlam," revived in 1706, the members including Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough, the lord of the manor of Hampstead, and his brother the Hon. John Noel, who bore the nicknames of Greyhound and

¹ *The Secret History of Clubs*, London, 1709.

Wildhorse respectively at the meetings of the society. Sir Godfrey Kneller, who was dubbed Unicorn, was also of the fraternity of the Little Bedlamites.¹ The Kit-Cat Club was the most celebrated of them all. Vanbrugh said it was the best Club that ever was. As to the eminence of its members there could be no question. They included Steele, Addison, Sir Robert Walpole (Earl of Orford), Lord Halifax, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Mohun, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Congreve, Garth, Vanbrugh, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Somers, the Duke of Devonshire—forty-eight members in all—forming a brilliant company. Although ostensibly a social club, with literary and artistic leanings, at heart the Kit-Cat was political. Horace Walpole spoke of the members as “the patriots who saved Britain.” This was in recognition of their firm loyalty



SIDE VIEW OF “UPPER HEATH” FROM THE GROUNDS. SHOWING PART OF THE ORIGINAL BUILDING ON THE LEFT.

(By permission of the Photo-Pictorial Agency.)

to the Protestant Succession, which ensured the ascendancy of the House of Hanover. Such a company of noblemen and gentlemen were welcome guests at The Upper Flask, and shed a social radiance upon Hampstead that afforded vast pleasure to residents and visitors alike.

This was the very heyday of the first Wells period. On fine sunny days the members of the Club used to sit in the grounds in genial converse under a mulberry-tree which lived until a very few years ago. Jacob Tonson, the bookseller and publisher, was founder and secretary of the Club. Kneller was its portrait painter ; and it is on account of that famous series of portraits, “head and shoulder,” done on a special-sized canvas, 36 inches deep by 22 inches wide,

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 349, Rep. v. Part i., MSS. of Rev. M. Field.

adapted to the room in which they were hung at Barn Elms, where Tonson resided and the Club frequently met, that we have the term "Kit-Cat" applied generally to three-quarter-length portraits. Each member had his portrait painted. Over the chimney were the portraits of the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Lincoln in one picture; the rest were hung in three rows of ten each and a fourth row containing sixteen portraits. Each sitter presented his own portrait to Tonson, and the works of art were greatly treasured by the publisher, who bequeathed them to his nephew Jacob. Later



JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
(From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1735, after the original painting by Kneller.)



SIR GODFREY KNELLER, BART.
(From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1735, after the original painting by Kneller.)

they were in the possession of another nephew, Richard, who built a gallery for their reception at Water Oakley, near Windsor; at his death they were left to his eldest daughter, and through her came to her husband, Mr. William Baker, formerly M.P. for the county of Hertford. Many of the original sketches, from which Kneller painted his full Kit-Cat portraits, are to-day at Bell-Moor, which is close to the scene of the summer Kit-Cat meetings.

It was the Duke of Somerset who started the idea of presenting portraits to Tonson. The others soon followed, and the aggregate commission to Kneller must have been a very profitable one, his charge for portraits being : a

head, fifteen guineas; if with one hand, twenty; a half-length, thirty; and a whole-length, sixty. The Kit-Cat portraits were among the most admired of Kneller's works; the fact of the sitters being his own personal friends added, no doubt, to his inspiration. Kneller was Court painter to five monarchs in succession—Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, and George I. In addition to the portraits painted by him of these royalties, he also executed portraits of Beatrice of Este (Queen of James II.), Queen Mary, Louis XIV., Peter the Great, and Charles VI.—ten sovereigns in all. William III. knighted him, and George I. made him a baronet.



JACOB TONSON.

(From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1733, after the original painting by Kneller.)



EVELYN PIERREPONT, DUKE OF KINGSTON.

From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1733, after Kneller's original painting, 1709.

The literature of the period naturally contains references to the Kit-Cat Club; but the mystery of its origin does not seem to have been quite cleared up. Even while the Club was at the zenith of its prosperity, Arbuthnot wrote:

Whence deathless Kit-Cat took its name,
 Few critics can unriddle;
 Some say from pastry-cook it came,
 And others from Cat and Fiddle.
 From no trim beaus its name it boasts,
 Grey statesmen or green wits;
 But from this pell-mell pack of toasts—
 Of old Cats and young Kits!

This reference to the Club's practice of choosing toasts each year, in honour of ladies whose names were formally proposed, and its suggestion of the antiquity of some of these dames, was quite in the satirical vein of the time, from which spite was not always absent. We may be sure, however, that in the main the subjects of the Kit-Cat toasts were young and beautiful.

The custom of toasting ladies after dinner was peculiar to the Kit-Cat Club, and is happily described in No. xxiv. of the *Tatler*, under the heading, "The Knights of the Toast." "Though this institution had so trivial a beginning, it is now," we are told, "elevated into a formal order, and that



ADDISON.

From one of Kneller's original sketches, now at Bell-Moor.

happy virgin, who is received and drunk to at their meetings, has no more to do in this life but to judge and accept of the first good offer. The manner of her inauguration is much like that of the choice of a Doge of Venice; it is performed by balloting; and when she is so chosen, she reigns indisputably for the ensuing year, but must be elected anew to prolong her empire a moment beyond it. When she is regularly chosen, her name is written with a diamond on one of the drinking glasses. The hieroglyphic of the diamond is to show her that her value is imaginary; and that of the glass, to acquaint her that her condition is frail, and depends on the hand which holds her."

UPPER HEATH,

HEATH STREET. FORMERLY THE UPPER FLASK.

(1910.)

*From a Water-Colour Drawing
by A. R. QUINTON.*

In the Bell-Moor Collection.



ARQUNTOUN

Many epigrammatic verses were written on the ladies thus celebrated, and some few of these *jeux d'esprit* have been preserved—though not the best of them, one would think. Tonson published some of the toasts written by Lord Halifax. They are hardly of sufficient merit to deserve quotation. The best of them is perhaps that to the Duchess of St. Albans :

The line of Vere, so long renown'd in arms,
Concludes with lustre in St. Albans' charms,
Her conquering eyes have made their race complete :
They rose in valour, and in beauty set.



STEELE.

From one of Kneller's original sketches, now at Bell-Moor.

Garth also wrote some of the toasts ; but there again was failure. What we should have liked to read are those which Addison, Steele, Congreve, and Vanbrugh must have written.

There was a memorable example of the toasting honour being accorded to a very young beauty. At one of the Kit-Cat meetings the whim seized the Duke of Kingston (Evelyn Pierrepont) to nominate his daughter Lady Mary (afterwards the famous Lady Mary Wortley Montagu), then only seven years old, as a candidate. He vowed that she was prettier than any lady on their list. It was objected that the rules of the Club forbade the election of a beauty whom the members had never seen. "Then you

shall see her," cried the Duke, and in the gaiety of the moment he sent orders that she should be finely dressed and brought to him at the tavern. The girl was received with wild demonstrations of admiration, and her claim was unanimously admitted. Her health was enthusiastically drunk, and her name directed to be duly engraved upon a drinking glass. Lady Mary's great-grandson, Lord Wharnccliffe, editor of her *Memoirs*,¹ relates that "the company consisted of the most eminent men in England. She went from the lap of one poet, or patriot, or statesman, to the arms of another, was feasted



LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU.

From an engraving by Caroline Watson, after a painting by Richardson, 1719.

with sweetmeats, or overwhelmed with caresses, and, what perhaps really pleased her better than either, heard her wit and beauty extolled on every side. Pleasure, she said, was too poor a word to express her sensations; they amounted to ecstasy; never again, throughout her life, did she pass so happy a day." Nearly two hundred years afterwards, Charles Green, R.I., illustrated this scene as he imagined it, the picture (reproduced on the next page) being a very successful effort.

The presence at Hampstead of such a distinguished company as the

¹ *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, by Lord Wharnccliffe, 2 vols., 1861.

Picture on the wall, Duchess of St. Albans, a Kit-Cat toast.

Picture on the wall, Jacob Tonson.



Duke of Marlborough.
Sir R. Walpole.

W. Congreve.

Sir P. Vanbrugh.
Joseph Addison.

Lord Mohun.

Sir R. Steele.

Duke of Kingston.
Lady Mary Pierrepont.

Duke of Richmond.
Sir Godfrey Kneller.

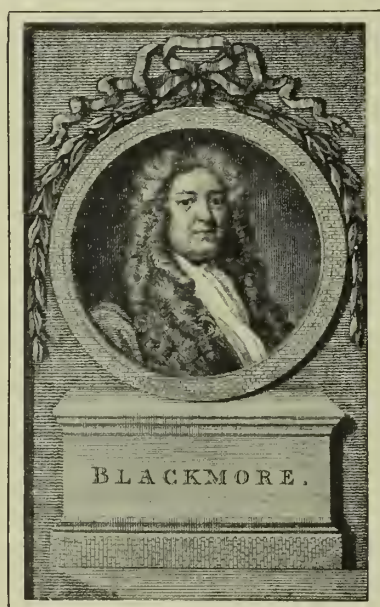
NAMING TOASTS FOR THE YEAR AT THE KIT-CAT CLUB: THE DUKE OF KINGSTON PRESENTING HIS DAUGHTER, LADY MARY PIERREPONT, TO THE MEMBERS.

From the original picture by Charles Green, R.I., at Bell-Moor.

members of the Kit-Cat Club gave much additional lustre to the place in those summer months. Sir Richard Blackmore in his poem, "The Kit-Cats," exclaims, in reference to the Hampstead meetings :

Or, when, Apollo-like, thou'rt pleased to lead
Thy sons to feast on Hampstead's airy head,
Hampstead, that, tow'ring in superior sky,
Now with Parnassus does in honour vie.

There were restless spirits among this great society of Whig leaders, however, and at times, Tonson, "chief merchant of the Muses," as Ned Ward



SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE.
From an old engraving.

styled him, had his serenity seriously ruffled by the boisterous humour of some of its members. Lord Mohun, on the night of his introduction, in his exuberance broke down the gilded emblem on the top of the secretary's chair, which so offended Jacob that he declared a man who would do that would cut a throat. Tonson was humoured and laughed at in turns, but his devotion to the interests of the club earned the worthy publisher the general regard of the Kit-Cats. Ward, jealous of Tonson's high favour, satirised him rather unkindly, and W. Shippen in his *Factions Displayed* of 1708, made him say :

I am the founder of your loved Kit-Cat,
A club that gave direction to the State ;

'Twas there we first instructed all our youth
 To talk profane, and laugh at sacred truth :
 We taught them how to boast, and rhyme, and bite,
 To sleep away the day, and drink away the night.

Tonson was rather ill-used by the satirists, who occasionally resorted to questionable methods of belittling him. In January 1704, for instance, a A.D. 1704. mock advertisement was issued subscribed "Jacob," intimating that the reports of "the famous bookseller" having been "infamously expelled a certain society called the K—t C—t Club" for his "ill-timed freedom with some of



SIR SAMUEL GARTH, M.D.

From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1733, after the original painting by Kneller.

the principal members" were untrue; and that he had "valiantly withdrawn himself . . . in scorn of being their jest any longer."¹

It was probably during these Kit-Cat days that Sir Samuel Garth, physician and poet, came into contact with Dr. Gibbons, the Wells water-specialist. Satire has seldom taken greater liberties with a subject than Dr. Garth did in his work *The Dispensary* in writing of Gibbons, whom he dubbed Mirmillo. The author begins by describing the stillness of Night; Sleep has shaken "its downy wings o'er mortal eyes," and

Mirmillo is the only wretch it flies.

¹ British Museum 816; M 19 (34).

Mirmillo seeks relief in soliloquy, in the course of which he confesses :

Long have I reign'd unrival'd in the Town,
Oppress'd with fees and deafened with Renown,
None e'er cou'd die with due Solemnity,
Unless his Passport first was signed by me.
My arbitrary Bounty's undeny'd ;
I give Reversions and for Heirs provide.
None cou'd the tedious Nuptial State support ;
But I, to make it easy, make it short.
I set the discontented Matrons free,
And ransom Husbands from Captivity.

Then "Discord" appears, and begins to taunt Mirmillo with a long list of misdeeds, adding the reproach,

Mistakes in Practice ne'er cou'd give you Pain,
Too well you know the Dead will ne'er complain.

Finally, Mirmillo is urged to desist from his self-seeking, and join his "true intrepid Friends" ; but

Lab'ring in Doubts Mirmillo stood, then said,
'Tis hard to undertake, if Gain dissuade ;
What Fool for noisy Feuds large Fees wou'd leave ?
Ten Harvests more, wou'd all I wish for give.

So he is left in boding dreams to spend the night, and, waking with the dawn, he flies,

And finds the Legions planted at their Post,
Where mighty Querpo fill'd the Eye the most.

The "legions" are, of course, the doctor's patients. "Querpo" was Dr. How, another of the "water" practitioners of the period.

The Kit-Cat meetings ordinarily were once a week ; but at The Upper Flask the gatherings were more frequent, the Hampstead "summer session" tempting many members to lengthy sojourns. Blackmore wrote :

One night in seven at this convenient seat,
Indulgent Bocaj¹ did the Muses treat,
Their drink was gen'rous Wine, and Kit-Cat's pies their meat.
Here he assembled his poetic tribe,
Past labours to reward and new ones to prescribe ;
Hence did the Assembly's title first arise,
And Kit-Cat wits sprung first from Kit-Cat pies.

Addison, in the ninth number of the *Spectator*, also mentions that the Club had "taken its origin from a mutton-pie." The name arose in this way : the first meetings of the Club were held at the house of Christopher

¹ "Jacob" spelled backwards—*i.e.* Jacob [Tonson].

Cat, a pastry-cook in Shire Lane,¹ who regaled his guests with a kind of mutton-pie which was highly popular. The connection thus formed was continued, and in honour of the man

Immortal made as Kit-Cat by his pies,

as Dr. King relates in his *Art of Cookery*, the wits called their Club the Kit-Cat, which would be the means of giving Christopher Cat and his standard dish a greatly extended lease of fame. Whether Kit and his pies



JOSEPH ADDISON.

From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1733, after the original painting by Kneller.

were incidents of The Upper Flask meetings we are not told. Thus we have three distinct appellations from this favoured pastry-cook—first, the Kit-Cat pies, the pies themselves being known by this name; secondly, the Kit-Cat Club; and, thirdly, the Kit-Cat portrait standard size.

During this first Wells period Hampstead enjoyed its earliest distinct association with literature. Steele's residence at Hampstead in 1712, despite its enforced circumstances, served to strengthen the literary link. At this time he was at the height of his fame, though socially under a cloud. The *Tatler* had made him in one sense, and marred him in another. His plain-speaking had lost him both friends and office. The

¹ Shire Lane was near Temple Bar on a site now covered by the Law Courts.

post of State Gazetteer had been taken from him in 1710; many of his old political associates had turned against him, their opposition losing him



VIGNETTE VIEW OF STEELE'S COTTAGE ABOUT 1805.

Drawn by R. Freebairn, engraved by John Peltro.

his seat in Parliament in 1714. A good servant to the public, he often



SIR RICHARD STEELE, KNT.

From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1733, after the original painting by Kueller.

found himself in conflict with the Government; a man of genial disposition, and a ready helper of people in difficulties, he frequently involved himself in

SIR RICHARD STEELE'S COTTAGE,

HAVERSTOCK HILL.

From an Oil Painting

by JOHN CONSTABLE, R.A.

(Size of Original Picture, 8 ins. × 11 ins.)

In the Bell-Moor Collection.



straits, despite his considerable earnings and emoluments and the income which his Welsh wife had brought him.

It was at one of these depressing periods that Steele took up his abode in the small cottage on Haverstock Hill which, as I have already mentioned, had been occupied by Sir Charles Sedley. Writing from this cottage to Pope on June 1, 1712, Steele says: "I am at a solitude, an house between Hampstead and London, wherein Sir Charles Sedley died. This circumstance



SIR JOHN VANBRUGH.

From a mezzotint engraving by Faber, 1733, after the original painting by Kneller.

set me thinking and ruminating upon the employments in which men of wit exercise themselves." It was said of Sir Charles :

Sedley had that prevailing gentle art
Which can with a resistless charm impart
The loosest wishes to the chastest heart :
Raise such a conflict, kindle such a fire,
Between declining virtue and desire,
Till the poor vanquished maid dissolves away
In dreams all night, in sighs and tears by day.

In those days the author of *The Christian Hero* was plain Dicky Steele, and, with his enemies in office, political advancement was for the time improbable. Worse than that, his finances were confused, and duns were

pressing. Thus he found his Hampstead retreat a double convenience: it afforded him a refuge from creditors, and provided a favourable atmosphere for his literary moralisings. It was the *Spectator* period. The *Tatler* had been dead for over a year, and in this cottage on Haverstock Hill many notable numbers of the *Spectator* must have been thought out and written. Addison would be a frequent visitor. The Kit-Cat meetings at this time at The



ENTRANCE TO FLASK WALK, DEMOLISHED IN 1911.¹

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

Upper Flask added materially to Steele's social enjoyments. It is related that Arbuthnot and others used to call on Steele, "and take him in their coach to the place of rendezvous"; it was hinted indeed that the coach might be "more necessary at the end than at the beginning of the evening," for the man of many moral precepts was better at preaching than at practice. This was characteristic of the time, and the Kit-Cat meetings were, we may be sure, more conducive to the breaking down of restraint than to its

¹ The weather-boarded front here shown was only put up to replace the original rough-cast plaster a short time before the demolition, in consequence of the latter having become dilapidated and insecure.

cultivation. Here men were seen with their foibles undisguised. Steele threw aside his moralising, Addison his pose of elegance, Kneller his pompousness, Halifax his stateliness, Garth his cynicism. Marlborough was the genial boon companion rather than the hero of Blenheim; Mohun was boastful of his duels and dissipations, of course; Somerset—*proud* Somerset, as he was called—relaxed a little of his *hauteur*; Congreve kept the conversation pointed with epigram, and said as little as might be of his amours; Wharton had his racehorses to expatiate on; while Maynwaring, friend of Boileau and



SIR R. STEELE.

From an engraving after the original painting by Kneller. (By permission of the Worshipful Company of Stationers.)

foe of Swift, was full of his latest exercise in polemics. Here in mental undress they were able to indulge their natural propensities without stint.

When Garth and Steele were talking together at The Upper Flask one night, the doctor hinted that Steele's "Prue" would be feeling lonely in her Bury Street lodgings, bereft of the company of her "Christian hero." Steele rejoined that there might be patients, in a worse plight than Prue, waiting to see Garth, and asked why the doctor did not set out to minister to their wants. "Oh, it's no great matter," said Garth, "for one half of them have got such bad constitutions that all the doctors in the world can't save them, and the others such good ones that all the doctors could not possibly kill them."

During his occupancy of the Hampstead cottage, Steele frequently



I thank Your Lordship for the distinction you
have at sundry times showed me, and wish you
with yr. Countrey's safety all Happiness and
prosperity. I share my Lord, your Good fortune with
some you will. While it lasts you will want no
Friends but if an Adverse day ever happens to
you, and I live to see it, you will find I think
my self obliged to be your Friend and your Advocate.
This is talking in a strange dialect from a Private
man to the first of a nation, but to desire only
a little exalts a man's condition to a Level with
those who want a great deal.

June 4th 1713

Richard Steele

Bloomsbury Square

Published by Chas. John Smith, Engraver, London, 1836

VIEW OF STEELE'S COTTAGE.

From a drawing by Schnebelle made in 1804, with facsimile autograph letter by Steele. One of the plates from Smith's *Literary Curiosities*. The view is taken from the fields at the back of the house.

SIR RICHARD STEELE'S COTTAGE,

HAVERSTOCK HILL.

*From a Mezzotint by David Lucas in the
Bell-Moor Collection of an Oil Painting*

by JOHN CONSTABLE, R.A.,

also in the Bell-Moor Collection.



went to Town under cover of night ; but Prue could never be sure of him. "Dear Prue," he would write, "don't be displeased that I do not come home till eleven o'clock"; or, if he had given up the idea of going, "Dear Prue, I am sleepy and tired, but could not think of closing my eyes till I had told you I am, dearest creature, your most affectionate faithful husband, R. Steele." Whatever necessities may have compelled Steele to make the cottage his abiding-place during those few months of 1712, they no longer existed in the autumn of that year, for in September he was living in comfortable style in a house in Bloomsbury Square. The presence in



STEELE'S COTTAGE AND HAVERSTOCK HILL, ABOUT 1829.

From an engraving by E. Finden, after a drawing by W. Westall, A.R.A.

Hampstead of the creator of Sir Roger de Coverley made hallowed ground of the spot he had selected for his residence, and the old cottage on the hill was called Steele's Cottage until its demolition in 1867. The name still lingers in the neighbourhood. Steele's Road now crosses the ground which the great essayist's footsteps must often have traversed. A public-house called The Sir Richard Steele was erected when this road was made, and has been embellished with a portrait of Steele in stained glass in one of the windows; and Steele's Studios are close by. It was not until the accession of the house of Hanover, three years after his sojourn

in Hampstead, that Steele's zealous services to the Whigs were rewarded by knighthood and further promotion. He died in 1729 at Carmarthen.

Meanwhile the Hampstead Wells continued to attract many visitors. The Irish beauty, Miss Kelly, of whom the society gossips had so much to say in the third decade of the eighteenth century, was at Hampstead in 1723, "in a very expensive way," as Mrs. Pendarves wrote to Swift, "with her sickness, her servants, and her horses, high passions, low spirits, and a tyrannous father." But year by year the company deteriorated. The nearness to London, which



STEELE'S COTTAGE, HAVERSTOCK HILL, ABOUT 1810.

From a drawing by J. J. Park (author of the first *History of Hampstead*) in the possession of Mrs. Wrentmore.

at first had seemed to count for much, had really proved to be the undoing of the project. Each day the coaches brought crowds of disreputable characters, male and female, attracted by the gambling and other low diversions; but few members of the classes such as went to Tunbridge Wells or Bath came now. While gambling and dissipation increased, so did the dangers of the road. The highways became more than ever a resort of robbers, and the paths were infested by footpads. So serious was the state of things in this respect that it became necessary to organise means of protection for visitors, and

A.D. 1718.

in newspapers of 1718 it was no unusual thing to come upon an advertisement, put out by the Hampstead Wells authorities, informing ladies and gentlemen,

that "for the future at half-past ten in the evening, every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday (being public days), there will be a sufficient guard, well armed, sent by the inhabitants of the said Wells, to attend the company thence to London."

The gaming-houses at the various gardens and pleasure-resorts around London were at this time a danger and a reproach to the community. The magistrates frequently denounced them from the Bench, and in the Charge¹ to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, sitting at Westminster Hall in 1718, the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, Whitlocke Bulstrode, made special reference to a Hampstead incident. "We sent to inquire lately," he said, "about the Gaming Room at *Hampstead* and we had an account brought us, That just before our Messenger came, there was a *Young gentleman lost Sixty Guineas to a Sharper of this Town*; who went off as soon as he had got his prey: It seems it was the *Young Gentleman's ALL*; which put him upon such a *Frenzy*, that he threw his *Hat one Way his Peruke another*; said, He was *ruin'd and undone in Body Soul and Estate by Gaming*; and *having one Guinea left* threw that away also, and fell into a *Fit of Cursing and Swearing, and Blaspheming the Name of God*; Which, I do believe, are the common Effects of *losing Gamesters*." This must have referred to the gambling at the Wells; Belsize's turn with the tables came a little later. The magistrate added: "We had an Account that the *Shops and Tables for Gaming there*, had been the *Ruin of a Great Many Young Gentlemen*." With such experiences as these constantly brought to their notice, the authorities were at length compelled to suppress the Hampstead gaming-tables and raffle-shops.

The professors of the dramatic art still continued under a ban at Hampstead, though now and then they made desperate attempts to establish a temporary temple there. In 1723 they seem to have mustered in stronger force even than in 1709, but with no more satisfactory result, and the press took up the matter, turning the edge of their satire on the worthy objectors. Thus the *Weekly Journal* or *Saturday Post* of Saturday, August 10, 1723, A.D. 1723. makes merry over a conflict between the local "saints" and the players:

By our accounts from Hampstead, we hear that the old spirit of forty-one begins to shew itself amongst the Saints, the Reader no doubt supposes we mean a pittiful Spirit of Persecution, which some Men must shew whenever a little Power is given them; we are told that Informers now swarm like Locusts, and since the Weather is grown very hot, the Butchers and Poulterers have been plagued by those Vermin more than by the Flies or Maggots, for selling Meat of a Sunday Morning. We cannot think so ill of any modern Justice of Peace, as that he should encourage these Harpies thus to plague the People; Acts of Charity and Acts of

¹ E. E. Newton, *Hampstead in the Olden Time*, 1902.

Necessity may be practised on a Sunday without giving Scandal to Religion: Thus by our Laws People are allowed to vend and cry Mackril on a Sunday, because it is supposed it will not keep sweet another Day, and in this hot Season the Case is the same with all Flesh; my Lord Coke says *ubi eadum Ratio eadum Lex*, I beg Pardon of our Justices and their Clerks for speaking Latin, however I shall explain it, that where the Reason is the same, there the Law is the same.

I believe it will be allow'd that if the Law does not justifie these troublesome Informations, Conscience nor Equity cannot.

We hear from the same place, that Mr. Bullock¹ with his Company of Actors, consisting of Persons from both Theatres, has also mov'd the Zeal of the Saints against him, for acting Plays there, tending to promote Laughter, and innocent Mirth, and the like egregious Wickedness; but that a Person of Quality residing there, applying in his Favour, to some that have more Power, and more Sense, the Saints have been obliged to acquiesce, and Mr. Bullock intends to make every Body laugh that comes to see him.

We are inform'd, also, that a sanctified Constable, to shew his Impartiality, carried his own Cat to the Round-house for killing a Mouse on Sunday.

The opposition was too strong for the players, however, for in the following week's issue of the same journal it is recorded that "On Saturday last about 40 Constables went up to Hampstead; and seizing the Actors there, brought them Prisoners to Town."

The incident was even commented upon in an English and French News Journal, in which the contents were given in parallel columns in the two languages. This paper told its readers in French that "*Samedi passé environ quarante Connétables saisirent les Acteurs à Hampstead, et les mirent dans les prisons de cette ville,*" which is an early and ominous mention of the perils of suburban theatrical management.

Matters were becoming desperate at the Wells. Duffield's entanglement with his financier Luffingham increased, and after the irregular lease from Duffield to Luffingham the financier appears to have got quickly to the end of his tether, trying by sub-leases and mortgages to obtain additional funds for the carrying on of the enterprise. Ultimately matters came to such a pass that proceedings in Chancery had to be instituted to prevent the Wells

¹ The Bullocks were a well-known theatrical family of the time. William Bullock had a house at North End, and his son Christopher Bullock, a comedian of note, died there in April 1722, being buried in Hampstead churchyard, many well-known players attending the funeral. Christopher Bullock was for a number of years a prominent member of the Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields Companies, and wrote or adapted several plays. William Bullock is described by Davies (*Dramatic Miscellanies*, iii. 463) as "an actor of great glee and much comic vivacity . . . in his person large, with a lively countenance, full of humorous information." He took a benefit at Covent Garden on January 6, 1739, "his first appearance on the stage for six years," it was stated in the playbill, and the indulgence of the public was asked, because of the actor's great age, "upwards of threescore and twelve." There is a print of Bullock, engraved by Johnson, which belonged to Dr. Burney, and is now in the British Museum. He died in 1740.

Charity from being swallowed up by mercenary adventurers. The trustees appear to have allowed things to drift, and had it not been for the action of the overseers of the poor of Hampstead the Gainsborough gift would probably have ceased to be an asset for the Hampstead poor. In their application to the Court the overseers complained that "the said Confederates—namely, Luffingham and his associates Dennis Byron, Joseph Rous and William Hoar"—had been in possession of the Wells estate "without paying the arrears" of the rent of £50. It was further stated that they had acted "in such a manner as if they were the absolute owners of the inheritance of the said premises belonging to the said charity," whereby the trust was "wholly obstructed and the poor of the parish knew not of whom to demand either the arrears or growing payment of the said £50." It was a case of everybody's business being nobody's business. Only three of the fourteen



COPPER "TICKET" OF ADMISSION TO THE HAMPSTEAD LONG ROOM, ABOUT 1730.

In the possession of Mr. E. E. Newton.

original trustees were then living, and, being without funds, they remained passive. It was the same with the lord of the manor: his interest in the Wells property was too small to make it worth his while resorting to litigation to protect it. However, the overseers persevered, and, without entering into uninteresting details, it may be stated that after four years of litigation the Court of Chancery issued a decree which virtually saved the Wells Charity, and, of course, the Wells. The lord of the manor was empowered to appoint thirteen new trustees; and Duffield was to have his lease confirmed by paying £575 for arrears of rent, an option which was to devolve upon Byron on failure of Duffield, on Rous on failure of Byron, and so on.

Byron got the lease in the end. This was in 1730, some years after the Wells had declined from the period of their first popularity. Five years previously—in 1725—the Great Room (or Pump Room, as it was then called) had been converted into a chapel; but complications, financial and other,

had arisen in regard to this matter also. Luffingham had let the place to Hoar for the express purpose of its being transformed into a place of worship; but Hoar had to borrow money from Byron to enable him to proceed with the alterations; then Hoar was unable to repay Byron; and Rous came to the rescue, bought up the interests of the two, and completed the work. Mr. Rous and Mr. Wood presented the bell, and Dr. Gibbons the altar plate, of the new chapel. Some rhymes of the period referring to this matter are worth giving:

ON TRANSFORMING THE GAMING-ROOM AT HAMPSTEAD WELLS INTO A CHAPEL

The walls by pious *Lovingham*¹ were rais'd,
 And to the *Devil* assign'd—his name was prais'd!
 Then gamesters' wishes—dicers' oaths flew round,
 The vaulted roofs their *blasphemies* rebound!
 But when these saints had worshipp'd all away,
 The place, long time, in desolation lay:
Christians, at last, agreed, with one accord,
 'Twas fit for nothing—but to serve the Lord!
 Surprising change of purpose, and of sound!
 But *consecration* made it holy ground.

Another strange complication was cleared up by the Chancery suits. As already stated, "the spring by the purging wells" (not the Well Walk Spring) was, in 1700, ordered to be brought into the town at the parish charge, and the profits arising therefrom were to be applied in easing the poor's rates. The Wells trustees, however, did nothing in the matter. They seem to have been opposed or indifferent to action of any kind, and the opportunities they ignored were taken advantage of by others. John Vincent, owner of the Hampstead Brewery of that period, thought he could utilise the water to his own profit and the benefit of some of his neighbours; therefore, with the leave of the trustees, he laid down pipes and conveyed water from the pond not only to his brewery but also to a number of better-class houses in the town. He charged the householders for the water, and no doubt did well out of the transaction; but when, after many years, the Chancery decree brought about a day of reckoning he was ordered to pay £322 for arrears of rent, and the water was advertised to be let to the highest bidder. When Gayton Road, a thoroughfare now connecting Well Walk with High Street, was being formed, remains of the pipes conveying this water to the brewery were discovered a few feet below the surface.

¹ Luffingham.

The prosperity of the first Hampstead Wells had waned some years before the Court of Chancery straightened out the confusion which blundering, inaction, and incapacity had caused. Under better auspices, with a proper catering for fashionable people and invalids, and a determination to exclude the shadier elements, a longer success would have been assured, and a depressing interregnum of neglect might have been avoided.

Hampstead was making progress in other directions, meanwhile, and more than a hundred years before Sir Rowland Hill became a resident of the parish it had its post-office reformer, and, curious to add, it was in connection with the penny post, as in Sir Rowland's case, but with a considerable difference, that this early pioneer exerted himself. A so-called Penny Post had been established towards the end of the seventeenth century, carried on at first by a private person, and later, under the direction of the Postmaster-General. This post, to begin with, extended only through London, Westminster, and Southwark, a penny being charged on the posting of each letter. After a time, several places outside this radius wished to obtain the advantage of the service, and offered to pay an extra penny on the delivery of each letter for the privilege. Hampstead was one of the districts thus brought within the London postal range, and all went well until one day in 1731 a Hampstead man named Hodgson A.D. 1731. refused to pay the extra penny, contending that it was illegal. The postman, thereupon, declined to deliver letters to him, and Hodgson brought an action against the officer claiming £200 damages. In the upshot the Attorney-General declared for the illegality of the extra penny, and recommended the introduction of a new clause authorising the charge, but the Treasury directed the discontinuance of the receipt of the extra allowance, and Hampstead's first postal reformer carried his point.¹

¹ Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1731, 2.

CHAPTER XI

BOISTEROUS BELSIZE

Strange Doings at Belsize—Belsize a Pleasure-Resort—Povey the Patriot—The “Welsh Ambassador”—Horse and Foot Racing—Doe-hunting—Belsize satirised—Discriminating Tactics—The “Rabble-Guard”—Defoe at Belsize—Belsize closed to the Public—New Georgia—Traps for the Unwary—Turner’s Wood—The Spaniards: Its “Puppets” and Pebble Stones—Something like a Prospect—What’s in a Name?—The Spaniards in Fiction—Napoleon III.



THE failure of the first period of the Hampstead Wells might not have been so complete or so rapid but for a pronounced bid for popularity being made by another amusement resort within the Hampstead boundaries. Other caterers besides those of the Wells came upon the scene, and by a curious twist of circumstance Belsize House fell into their hands.

The pleasure equipment of the neighbourhood was supposed to be made additionally attractive by the provision of a chapel—Sion Chapel it was called—at Belsize, with a clergyman in attendance ready to perform short marriage-services for any couples who came prepared with a licence and a fee of five shillings. This chapel and its functions were advertised in the same way as the concerts and other entertainments at the Wells, and must have been a considerable source of revenue while the institution lasted. The lowness of the fees is explained by the announcement that the charge was conditional on the wedding dinner being “kept in the gardens.” It has been suggested that these marriages, at what the advertisements styled the “private and pleasure place” of Sion Chapel, were illegal, or at all events irregular; it has been hinted, also, that licences were not always insisted upon, for it was a free and easy age. An outward appearance of regularity was maintained, however, the licence and the clergyman being invariably mentioned in the advertisements.

Difficulty was sometimes found in getting a clergyman unscrupulous enough to fulfil the duties. In one advertisement it is announced that, although "two sermons are continued to be preached in the said Chapel every Sunday," the place "will be given to any clergyman that is willing to accept of it, if he is approved." In another notice, after the statement "that many persons of the best fashion have lately been married" at the Chapel, the assurance is given that "*now*, as a minister is obliged constantly to attend," all persons bringing a licence and paying the fee can be similarly accommodated—from which it may be inferred that previously the clerical attendance had been intermittent. The Sion Chapel marriages were at best but rough-and-ready affairs, unburdened by needless formalities; what they were at the worst we are left to conjecture. The chapel lasted for close on twenty years, advertisements of it appearing as late as 1716.

This sudden falling-away of Belsize from its ancient glory was the result of its subletting, about 1700, to Mr. Charles Povey, a retired coal-A.D. 1700. merchant, who does not seem to have been able to accommodate himself to the dignity of the place, and therefore, after some eccentric but vain attempts to find a distinguished occupant for it, did his best to vulgarise it. The manor and demesne of Belsize were nominally held by the third Earl of Chesterfield at this period; but his lordship did not at any time occupy the mansion.

Mr. Povey was always ready to fight (with his pen) on behalf of himself or any of his projects, and what with the easy marriages and the deer-hunting, for which Sion Chapel was the starting-point, his Belsize connection was often made the subject of press censure, to which he invariably replied. In 1713 it was announced¹ that "Mr. Povey at Sion Chappel near Hampstead" had "drawn up a reply to his enemies, who circulated scandalous reports against him." Copies of this reply were to be had "at Mr. Povey's house in Hampstead, or Mr. Bowden's, a Toy Shop, the second house in Chancery Lane, near Fleet Street." As to the so-called deer-hunt, it was only one of Mr. Povey's money-making schemes. Each person had to pay sixpence for a share in the deer, the distribution being decided by lots, after the killing.²

Mr. Povey made a great parade of his patriotism in certain pamphlets, claiming, among other things, to have rendered valuable service to his country by declining to let Belsize to the French Ambassador, the Duc d'Aumont, boasting that by this act of self-denial he had sacrificed £1000

¹ *The Post Boy*, October 13, 1713.

² *Ibid.* September 3, 1713.

a year, and all for his devotion to the Protestant religion. Belsize should be for ever without a tenant, he declared, rather than that its old private chapel, which had so long been dedicated to the services of the Protestant faith, should be desecrated by being put to Popish uses. Neither the Government nor the magistracy, to both of whom he had made his patriotic representations, could be induced to look at the matter from Povey's point of view, and, instead of obtaining approval and compensation, he had intimation from the Privy Council that his action constituted him "an enemy to the king." The anti-popery flame was burning low at that time. Povey, however, was not the man to take to heart an official snub like this. Soon we find him offering the residence to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George II.) "for a place of recess or constant residence." His Royal Highness did not even acknowledge receipt of the loyal offer.

A.D. 1720. In 1720 Belsize House and its fine park and gardens were under the control of a not over reputable entertainment-provider named Howell, and were thrown open to the public with a great flourish of trumpets, the opening being formally notified by advertisement in *Mist's Journal* on April 16 of that year as follows :

Whereas that ancient and noble house near Hampstead, commonly called Bellasis House, is now taken, and fitted up for the entertainment of gentlemen and ladies during the whole summer season ; the same will be opened with an uncommon solemnity of music and dancing. This undertaking will exceed all of the kind that has hitherto been known near London, commencing every day at six in the morning, and continuing till eight at night, all persons being privileged to admittance without necessity of expense, etc.

Park mentions a very rare handbill which was issued about this time, surmounted with an engraved view of Belsize House. It announced Belsize open for the season, and stated that—

The park, wilderness, and gardens being wonderfully improved and filled with a variety of birds, which compose a most melodious and delightful harmony. Persons inclined to walk and divert themselves, may breakfast on tea or coffee as cheap as at their own chambers. Twelve stout fellows, completely armed, to patrol between Belsize and London.

A.D. 1721. Under the sub-tenancy of Howell, Belsize became one of the recognised pleasure-resorts of Londoners, attaining for a time such fashionable vogue that the Prince and Princess of Wales paid the place a visit. "Last Saturday," says *Read's Journal* of July 15, 1721, "their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales dined at Belsize-house near Hampstead, attended by several persons of quality, where they were entertained with the

diversions of hunting, and such others as the place afforded, with which they seemed well pleased, and at their departure were very liberal to the servants."

Such an honour as this had never, so far as I know, been bestowed upon the Wells, and Howell, who was nicknamed "the Welsh Ambassador," appears to have given all the publicity he could to the royal and fashionable patronage. The *St. James's Journal* of June 7, 1722, says: "On Monday last the appearance of nobility and gentry at Belsize was so great that they reckoned between three and four hundred coaches, at which time a wild deer was A.D. 1722.



OLD BELSIZE HOUSE.

From an eighteenth-century print.

hunted down and killed in the park before the company, which gave near three hours' diversion." Hunting was frequent, and for a time a strong attraction; horse races and foot races were introduced, and they also constituted a "draw." On a day in September 1721 "a plate of six guineas" was "run for by eleven footmen" at Belsize, and at other times there were "Galloway races" for a plate of the value of £10, "the horses to pay one guinea entrance, and to be kept in the stables at Belsize from entrance to the time of running." On race-days gentlemen had to "pay 1s., ladies nothing"; but dogs were summarily dealt with, it being notified that "if any dogs come into the park they will be shot." In fact, after a few years, horse-racing

seems to have been almost the only thing that would bring people to Hampstead in any numbers, and in addition to the course in Belsize Park there was one on the west side of the Heath, "behind the Castle." Later, horse-racing at Hampstead meant a concourse of rabble rather than of rank and fashion, and it was ultimately prohibited by the Justices.

Although Povey was, for the most part, a crack-brained projector, some of his schemes were found valuable when carried out by others. His views on fire insurance, for instance, developed into the Sun Fire Office; he propounded a scheme for the halfpenny carriage of letters, and a parcel-post system, and invented a self-acting organ. In 1723 he was exhibiting at Belsize "an invention for extinguishing fires at their very first beginning, tho' no person should then be present to assist"; and it was claimed for these "new machines" that they "performed the work of themselves, only as they hang up in any rooms, where ever a fire happens to break out."¹ Another of his projects in connection with Belsize was to turn it into a factory for weavers, but happily, from the residential point of view, this was one of the Povey ideas that did not materialise. He lived to be upwards of ninety, and was an indefatigable purveyor of ideas to the last.

For a few years the "Welsh Ambassador" probably reaped a good harvest, and perhaps paid Mr. Povey his rent; but he never sought to disguise the character of the entertainments he provided. Their object was amusement, diversion, excitement, after the Ranelagh and Vauxhall manner in some measure, but appealing more directly than those resorts to the sporting and gambling instincts. What the round of Belsize amusements was, and what kind of people patronised them, are shown in a satirical poem of the period entitled *Belsize-House*, written by "A Serious Person of Quality." This was published in 1722, "at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster-Row"; its price was 3d., and it is of great local value for the pictures it gives of the time, place, and people. The satire is divided into four sections. It claimed to be "A Satyr exposing I. the Fops and Beaux who daily frequent that Academy (Belsize); II. the Characters of the WOMEN (whether Maid, Wife, or Widow) who make this an *exchange* for Assignations; III. the Buffoonry of the WELSH Ambassador; IV. the Humours of his *customers* in their several Apartments. WITH The RAKE'S SONG on the Falshood of Woman; The LIBERTINE'S SONG; Another by a Rejected VIRGIN; and the BELSIZE BALLAD."

The author, who took for his motto, *Facit indignatio versum*, Juv.

¹ *Daily Post*, Friday, July 19, 1723.

Sat. i., wrought himself into a condition of great wrath, calling upon "some angry muse" to assist his "nimble pen,"

To lash the Women, and chastise the Men,
although he confessed it was

beyond all human Pow'r,
For mortal Man, to reach th' infernal Shore,
With biting Satire, Gall, Fire, Sword, and Flame,
Jayls, Scandal, *Tyburn*, Poverty, and Shame."

Then, after some now unquotable lines, he asks for

leave to say, as here's no Grace,
Sodom of old was a more righteous Place ;
For Angels hence four righteous Souls cou'd call ;
But at Bellsizes, by Heav'n ! there's none at all.
This House, which is a Nuisance to the Land,
Doth near a Park and handsome Gardens stand,
Fronting the Road, betwixt a range of Trees,
Which is perfumed with a *Hamstead* Breeze.

We are told that

The *Welsh Ambassador* has many Ways
Fool's Pence, while Summer-season holds, to raise ;
For 'tis not only Chocolate and Tea,
With Ratifa, bring him Company ;
Nor is it Claret, *Rhenish* Wine or Sack,
The fond and rampant Lords and Ladies lack,
Or Ven'son Pasty for a certain Dish,
With several Varieties of Fish ;
But hither they and other Chubs resort,
To see the *Welsh Ambassador* make Sport,
Who mounting on a Horse, rides o'er the Park,
Whilst Cuckolds wind the Horn, and Beagles bark,
And in the Art of Hunting has the luck
To kill in fatal Corner tired Buck,
The which he roasts, and Stews and sometimes bakes,
Whereby *His Excellency* Profit makes.
He also on another Element
Do's give his choused Customers Content,
With Net or Angling-Rod, to catch a Dish
Of *Trouts* or *Carp*, or other sorts of Fish.

Our "Serious Person of Quality" condemns the whole affair, and if Belsize was really as black as he painted it the censure was by no means too severe. Still, as we have seen, the place was favoured by royalty, which also meant the patronage of a considerable section of the fashionable world, and for a time Belsize must have enjoyed a certain social prestige.

When that began to pale, "the Welsh Ambassador" laid himself out to catch the common people, setting aside a part of the house "for the accommodation of the meaner sort," while to the principal room, only those who could afford to indulge in the more costly regalements were admitted. For such as "have more Silver than they've Gold" there was the requisite catering on the north side; but for those who had the gold there was the Coffee-Room, where they could "drink dull Coffee, Chocolate, or Tea," and mix with

Coquets, Prudes, and self-conceited Beaux,
Who are not known for Merit but their Cloaths.

This sort of discrimination was doomed to disaster. Gamblers and courtesans, dressed fashionably, and with money enough to pay their way, were made as welcome as the "quality," and, in the words of the satirist, might "keep their noble Honours company"; while in the park, where all classes were free to roam, there would be an association of a still more general character. The incensed versifier declares the house to be "Averse to all the Laws of Man, and Heav'n"; "the Ambassador" he describes as one who has lately obtained his liberty from Newgate by "habeas,"¹ at which event "the Wicked merry be"; and as for the provision of the completely armed patrol to protect visitors between Belsize and London, the poet has his doubts about its honesty. The aforesaid "wicked," whom "the Ambassador" invites

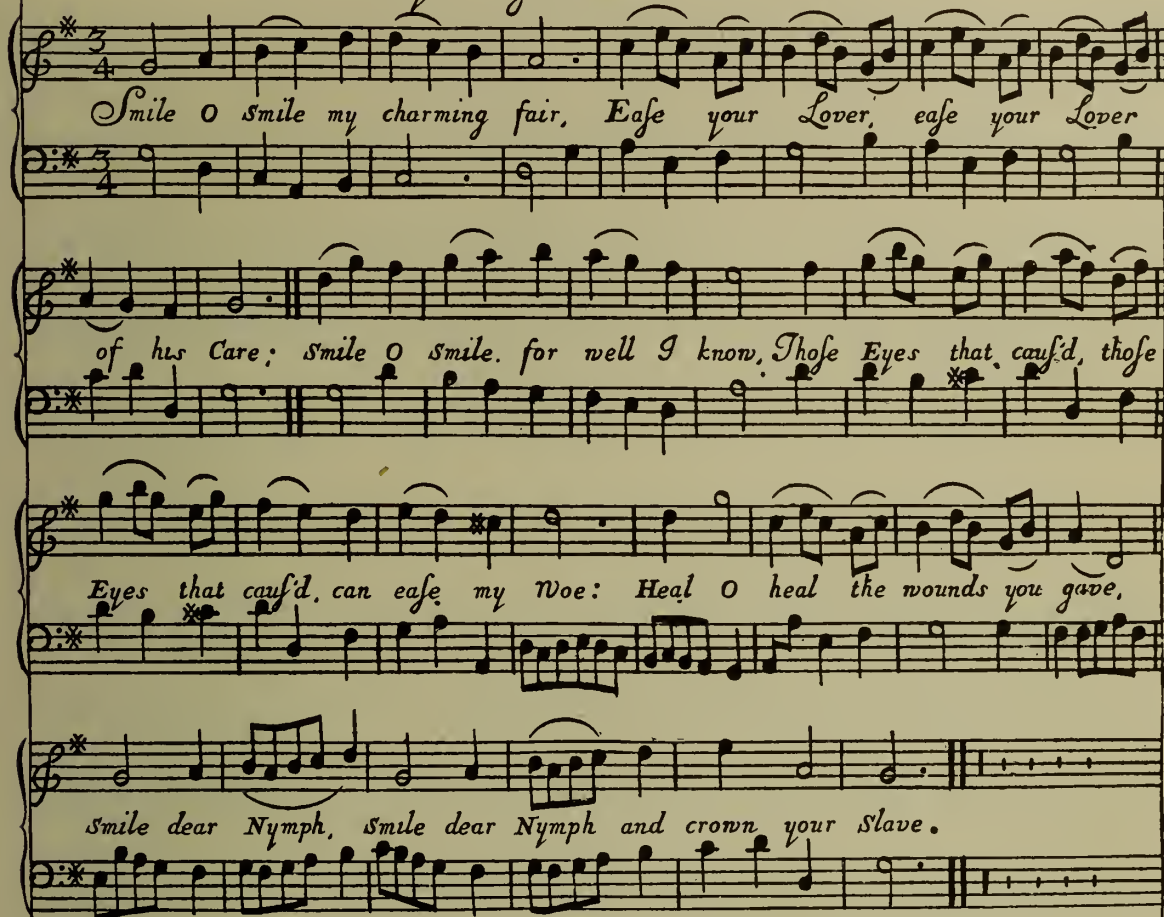
To visit him amidst his false Delights;
are assured

that thirty Men shall be
Upon the Road for their Security;
But whether one half of this Rabble-Guard
Whilst t'other half's Asleep on Watch and Ward
Don't Rob the People they pretend to Save,
I to th' Opinion of the Readers leave.

In spite of the satirist's opinion, there was a real danger, and it was probably provided against as well as circumstances would permit. The Belsize advertisements of 1720 announced that the guard would consist of "twelve stout fellows"; later notices show that the number was increased to thirty. The rough-and-ready method of policing did not, however, relieve visitors

¹ This is explained by the following paragraph which appeared in a journal of the time:—"On Monday last the High Constable of Holborn Division, with some petty Constables, having a Warrant sign'd by divers Justices of the Peace, went to Bellsizes at Hampstead, where they took William Howell, the Proprietor, and several common Gamesters. The said Howell was kept that night in New Prison, and on Tuesday a Bill of Indictment was found against him at the Sessions held at Hick's Hall."

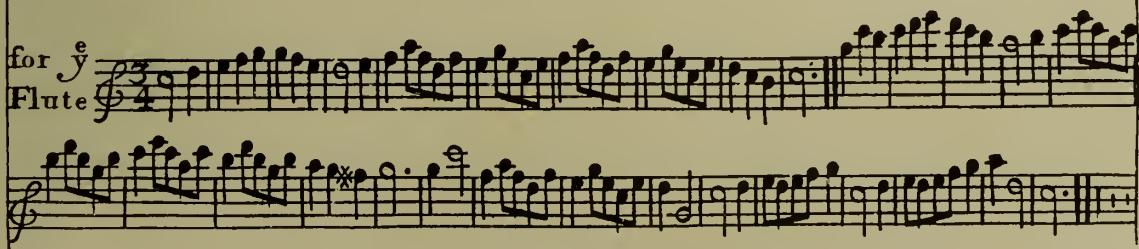
A Song
(Made on a Lady at Belfize) To the Belfize Minuet.
By a Gentleman



Smile O smile my charming fair, Ease your Lover, ease your Lover
of his Care; Smile O smile, for well I know, Those Eyes that caus'd, those
Eyes that caus'd, can ease my Woe: Heal O heal the wounds you gave,
Smile dear Nymph, smile dear Nymph and crown your Slave.

(2)
O what Charms adorn that Face,
E'ery feature e'ery feature is a grace;
You my very Soul alarm,
E'ery motion, e'ery motion is a charm:
Be but kind as you are fair,
Then I'm blest, then I'm blest above compare.

for y
Flute



of the necessity of looking after themselves, both stage and private coaches carrying swords, blunderbusses, and pistols. The newspapers of the time contain frequent reports of robberies in the Hampstead district, showing that
 A.D. 1732. the dangers of the road were very real. The *Daily Journal* of July 20, 1732, mentioned that on the previous morning about 10 o'clock a gentleman and his wife were robbed by two footpads in the fields between the Half Way House and Pond Street, Hampstead; they had taken from them two watches, three rings, and about six pounds. Two days later footpads stopped several people returning from Hampstead, "particularly two gentlemen and a lady in a hackney coach, from whom they took about £4"; and in the same week "one Mr. Wood, a chairmaker," coming from Hampstead, was "attacked by three footpads, who used him in a very barbarous manner, and robbed him of his watch, a gold ring, and some money, and went off." So the game went on. No wonder that these guards became an institution of the period. What a rounding-up there would be every night before the starting out of the London-bound visitors with their escort of "stout fellows"! The footpad was a greater dread than the highwayman himself; Smollett makes one of his heroes walk with a drawn sword by the side of his grandmother's coach on her way to town from the Flask Walk.

This was the condition of things that gave Gay inspiration for *The Beggars' Opera*, and ensured the popularity of that unique composition, the wit and fabulist imbibing much of the spirit of his particular muse at the Hampstead Wells and Belsize. It was all over with Belsize, however, as a place of public entertainment by the middle of the eighteenth century. Long before that time Defoe, in his *Tour through Great Britain*, had seen that Belsize was doomed to failure as a pleasure resort. "At the foot of the Hill," he wrote, "is an old seat of the Earls of *Chesterfield* called *Belsize*; which for many years had been neglected: but being tenanted by a certain *projector*, who knew by what Handle to take the gay part of the world, he made it into a house of Pleasure and Entertainment; and was one of the first of the kind: this brought a wonderful Concourse of people to the Place; and they were effectually gratified in all Sorts of Diversion; but there being too great a License used, it alarmed the Magistrates, and now the House is hastening apace to Ruin; and the same Diversions are carried on at others." The mansion then reverted to its ancient residential use, and, after being partly rebuilt, was tenanted by well-known persons in succession.

In July 1732, when the ordinary attractions of Belsize and the Wells were almost powerless to influence the public, such events as the following were chronicled in the *Daily Courant*:

On Monday last (July 3, 1732) at Hampstead races, four horses started for the purse of 20 guineas given by the town, viz., Mr. Hornby's grey mare Drowsy Jenny; Mr. Woodman's black mare, Creeping Kate; Mr. Rich's bay gelding, —; and Mr. —'s sorrel mare, who was distanced the first heat; Creeping Kate got the first heat; Mr. Hornby's Drowsy Jenny



OLD TOLL HOUSE AND BARN IN BELSIZE LANE, STANDING IN 1871.

From a drawing by G. Maund in the Coates Collection.

got the two last heats, and won the purse of gold; Mr. Rich's bay gelding was lamed the second heat, so was drawn the third;

and—

Yesterday the £10 plate was run for by three horses, and won by Mrs. Chapman's Black Joke.

There seems to have been regular (or irregular) betting at these meetings, as at the turf contests of to-day, the *Daily Journal* of July 5, 1732, in addition to describing the events, giving the betting quotations: A.D. 1732. "The odds of the Field in the Morning on Creeping Kate four to one,

but after the 2nd heat the Odds of the field were five to one on Drowsy Jenny." Another race, according to the same authority, was run on September 4 for ten guineas; but, as only "three horses started, and one was distanced the first heat, and one drawn," it could not have been very exciting; in fact, the winner, Mr. Bullock's Merry Gentleman, "was obliged to go the course the second heat alone." Other races were run, now on the Heath course, and now at Belsize; sometimes the competitors were ponies, and sometimes men or boys. For one of these events—a boys' race, six times round the course—the first prize was only a guinea; and as each person had to "Pay sixpence coming in," the promoters must have netted a good profit if the public mustered even in moderate numbers. Moreover, it was notified in connection with the Belsize gatherings that "all persons sitting on the wall or getting over" would be "prosecuted": so there was no seeing the race without paying the admission fee. The hunting of a fat doe was the attraction occasionally, an advertisement of 1736 announcing that such an animal would be "hunted to death" in Belsize Park "by small beagles, beginning at nine in the morning, persons to bring their own dogs if not too large." Under

A.D. 1736.

date July 22, 1736, the *Grub Street Journal* has the following paragraph: "On Thursday, while the horses were running at Hampstead-course, a gentleman about 60 years of age was found hanging almost double over a gate, his head very near touching the ground; his horse was grazing by him: there were found in his pocket a silver watch, and about 25s." There is a Hampstead pony-racing reference as late as July 1748, the *Daily Advertiser* describing a race that was run on Hampstead Heath "between a bay poney belonging to Lord Blessington, and a gray poney of Mr. Woods, of Jack Straw's Castle, for a considerable sum of money, which was won by the former."

Hampstead sportsmen of another class occasionally figured in the records of current pastimes. Bull-baiting was no uncommon pastime on the Heath, such events drawing a great concourse of rabble, the Hampstead dogs having a considerable celebrity in the sporting world. At the famous bear garden of Hockley-in-the-Hole, near Clerkenwell Green, "two dogs of Hampstead" were matched against "two dogs of Smithfield," at the "Reading Bull," and "gentlemen gamesters" were invited to witness the contest. At the same place, advertised as "His Majesty's Bear Garden," a few years later, three great matches were announced to be fought, the chief event being between "a brindled dog from Hampstead" against "a fallow-coloured bitch from Chelsea," to fight "ten let-goes apiece at the famous Newington Bull."

After its first brief spell of prosperity, Belsize was beyond revival as a pleasure resort. It was over-boisterous; it had lost its manners; polite society declined to be drawn by its coarse attractions. The Megs and Molls of Georgian times, and the demi-reps, gamblers, thieves, and rowdies, who ran riot over the once beautiful grounds towards the end of "the Welsh Ambassador's" time, were a blot on Hampstead's fair name, not to be tolerated. The authorities at Hickes's Hall ultimately restrained the more boisterous elements, and the gates of Belsize had to be closed upon the pleasure-seekers. The painted grenadiers which had stood in mimic guard on each side of the



BELSIZE HOUSE, NEAR HAMPSTEAD, IN 1751.

From the extra-illustrated copy of Lysons in the Guildhall Library.

entrance during the years of revelry were taken down. It was of these that the poet before mentioned had said,

Howe'er they cannot speak, think, see, nor hear;
But why they're posted there no Mortal knows,
Unless it be to fright Jack-Daws and Crows,
For Rooks they cannot scare, who there resort.

Belsize was now announced for letting again as a private residence. It seems to have had some time to wait for a tenant.

Gardens of a more innocent character were to be found in Hampstead about this time. There was New Georgia, which was as interesting in its way as the Hollow Elm had been, and comprised a cottage, tea-houses, and spacious gardens at the back, where much curious diversion was to be had.

This place of entertainment adjoined what we now call Turner's Wood ; the lake at the bottom of the grounds of The Firs is said to be part of the site. Mr. G. W. Potter states that when this lake was being enlarged a few years ago he discovered traces of old gravelled paths and some ornamental stone paving, which had evidently formed part of the New Georgia grounds. The proprietor of this resort was Robert Caston, who was proud to proclaim his own handiwork in the following inscription on the two-storied wooden



VIEW FROM THE FIR TREES, HAMPSTEAD HEATH, LOOKING TOWARDS HARROW.

Sketched and lithographed by T. M. Baynes, 1822.

cottage which fronted the road : "I, Robert Caston, begun this place in a wild wood, stubbed up the wood, digged all the ponds, cut all the walks, made all the gardens, built all the rooms, with my own hands ; nobody drove a nail here, laid a brick, or a tile, but myself, and thank God for giving me such strength, being 64 years of age when I begun it."

The gardens of New Georgia seem to have been constructed as a series of practical jokes, representing much ingenuity on the part of their contriver and affording no little fun to visitors. There were pillories into which

THE FIRS, HEATH END,

NEAR "THE SPANIARDS."

in which Turner the Draper lived, who planted the
well-known clump of Trees opposite.

From an Old Water-Colour Drawing

In the Bell-Moor Collection.



gentlemen were lured, not to be liberated until some fair creature had ransomed him by a kiss upon the lips. There were sham reptiles hidden away in quiet corners, which sprang out at people walking by if they happened to tread on a board that controlled the mechanism; and there



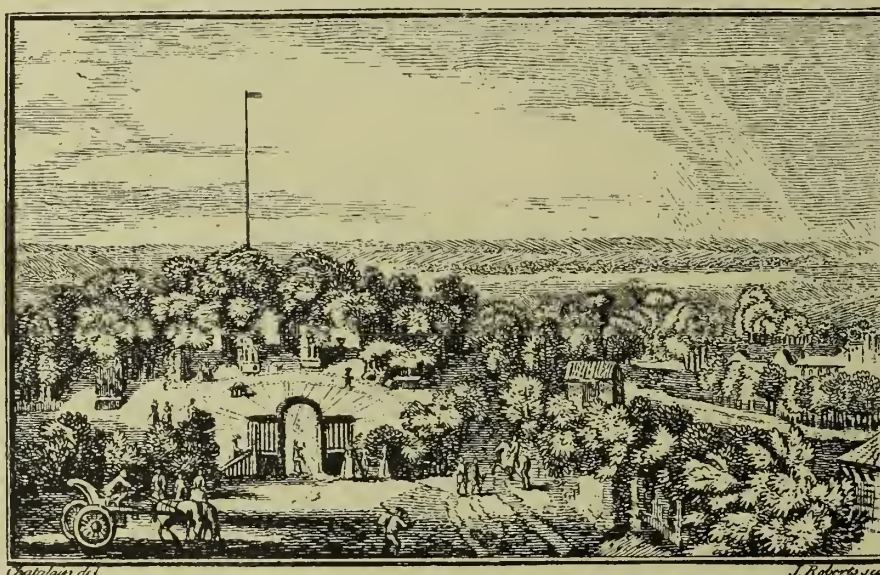
THE FIRS, ON SPANIARDS ROAD, AT HEATH END, 1911.

From a photograph.

was a chair which sank into the ground the moment any one sat upon it. Many other devices of a like nature were scattered about; and with the trees and shrubs and hedges shaped in the forms of animals, birds, and monsters, and the architect himself looking on enjoying the frolics, New Georgia would not be a bad place in which to while away a summer

A.D. 1745. afternoon. The spot is clearly marked on Rocque's map of 1745 as "New Georgia," which shows that at that time it was a place of some note.

Although New Georgia vanished after only a few years, some portions of Turner's Wood still remain. Near by, the still famous Firs stand out dark and defiant on the crown of the North Heath; and, although the presence of many stumps shows that the grove is much thinner than of old, sufficient is left to continue the picturesque effect, which gives a striking foreign touch to this part of the Heath, the happy sketching-ground for many artists in the summer days. Mr. Turner was a retired Fleet Street



SOUTH VIEW OF THE SPANIARDS, NEAR HAMPSTEAD.

One of the small views by Chatelain, from his set of *Views in the Vicinity of London*, 1750.

draper, who built and resided in the detached house called The Firs, and planted the avenue of trees facing it. The residence was subsequently occupied by Mr. Bosanquet, afterwards by Mr. Dugmore, and still later by Mr. Henry Stedall.

Then, there were the gardens of The Spaniards. Here again was ample opportunity for pleasant outdoor recreation. Here also were concealed mechanical surprises. Mrs. Piozzi called them "puppets." There was a bowling-green, much used; and with its arbours, bowers, winding walks, little summer-houses, and curious designs and figures outlined on the pathways in coloured pebble stones, The Spaniards was an attractive resort. The

designs, of which there were over forty, included the Tower of London, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Pyramids, the Sphinx, "The Pathway of All the Planets," Adam and Eve, "The Sun in its Glory," the Spire of Salisbury Cathedral, the Shield of David, and an odd association of other things earthly and celestial. It was a magnificent view, moreover, that visitors could command from the mound constructed by



MRS. BARDELL'S PARTY AT THE SPANIARDS IS BROKEN IN UPON. (See p. 237.)

From the original engraving by T. Onwhyn.

Mr. William Staples. The prospect, we are told, included "Hanslope steeple, in Northamptonshire, within eight miles of Northampton; Laindon Hills, in Essex, full sixty miles east; Banstead Downs, in Surrey, south; Shooter's Hill, Kent, south-east; Red Hill, Bucks, south-west; and Windsor Castle, Berkshire, to the west." Now even the mound has gone, to say nothing of much of the prospect; but many of the inn's old traditions survive, including some that concern the origin and name of the hostelry and are contradictory and confusing.

The house is on the site of a small lodge once occupied by the keeper of the toll-gate which stood at the entrance to the road running through the estate of the Bishop of London. One story is to the effect that it was once inhabited by a member of the Spanish Embassy, and took its name from him. The Spanish Ambassador to James I. certainly lived here for a time, as is remembered by his having written from the house complaining that



THE SPANIARDS IN 1911.

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

it was very little sun that he and his suite had seen since their coming to England. Another tale carries us back to the days of Philip and Mary, and relates how some beautiful Englishwomen were delivered from the hands of certain English ruffians at this spot by a party of Spanish cavaliers, and in gratitude for their rescue the ladies caused a belt of trees to be planted there as a memorial of the incident ; from which fact, it is claimed, the names of both the Spaniards Road and The Spaniards Inn came into recognition. Then, there is the account which traces the name from a rich Spanish merchant of the

THE SPANIARDS ROAD,

NEAR ERSKINE HOUSE.

(1910.)

From a Water-Colour Drawing

by A. R. QUINTON.

In the Bell-Moor Collection.

A.R. QUINTON



seventeenth century, who found the air of Hampstead Heath so beneficial that he spent all his "week-ends"—horrible word!—at the little inn by Ken Wood, which was known by some other name in those days; later, on retiring from business, he took up his abode there altogether, and at his death, out of compliment to him, the name of the house was changed to The Spaniard or The Spaniard's.

In more recent times the possessive form was dropped and it became The Spaniards. How and when did the name become plural? asked Mr. Percy Fitzgerald not long ago, but it was a common custom for name-titles of houses, streets, or roads to lose their possessive indication, as innumerable other instances testify. The Spaniards has figured prominently both in historical fact and in romantic fiction. At the time of the Gordon Riots the landlord of the inn, Giles Thomas, saved Lord Mansfield's Ken Wood mansion from destruction at the hands of the rioters by a clever stratagem, as more particularly related in Chapter XVI.¹ It is this incident that Dickens introduces in *Barnaby Rudge*; the novelist also makes The Spaniards the scene of the merry-making described in *Pickwick* when Mrs. Bardell, who was having tea with friends, was arrested at the suit of Dodson and Fogg. Oliver Goldsmith is said to have been a frequent guest at The Spaniards, where he would find plenty of boon companions of the type so humorously depicted in his comedies. There is a diamond-ring story connected with The Spaniards, which brings upon the scene no less a personage than Louis Napoleon. The Prince, in exile here some years before his becoming Emperor of the French, while resting at The Spaniards one day, says Mr. G. W. Potter, wrote his monogram with a diamond ring on a pane of glass in the old tea-room of The Spaniards. As has been the case with other panes of historic distinction in Hampstead, this one has been removed.

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 83-84; vol. iii. p. 7.

CHAPTER XII

EARLY GEORGIAN DAYS

Clearing the Atmosphere—Corrective Action—A New Wells Champion—Dr. Soame and his "Directions"—Hampstead in 1734—The Truth about the Springs—Renewed Popularity—Pope—Gay and Arbuthnot—Letter from Swift—New Assembly Rooms—Defoe at the Wells—Life and Gaiety—Fielding—Richardson—*Clarissa Harlowe*—Fashionable People—Dr. Johnson—*The Vanity of Human Wishes*—Johnson and Steevens—Goldsmith—Nancy Dawson—Moll King—Mrs. Lessingham—The Modern Jenny Diver—The Honeywoods—Earthquakes—A Foolish Panic—Miss Burney—"Evelina" in the Long Room—Mrs. Crewe's Villa—Burke—A Visit to Lord Mansfield—Mrs. Crewe and Sheridan and Fox—"Buff and Blue."



It is an old saying that "when things get to the worst they oftentimes mend." So it was with Hampstead. Nothing could well be worse, or more out of harmony with Hampstead's pure air and natural beauty, than the fever of gambling, dissipation, irregular marryings, and loose pleasures which had characterised the place, while Hampstead Wells and Belsize were in the hands of unscrupulous speculators. These sinister elements gradually disappeared, and a mending process set in. Once more the Wells grounds, the reputation of its waters, the lovely walks, and the bracing breezes of the Heath called back the estranged votaries of fashion, and, aided by good manners and much tea-drinking, Hampstead more than recovered the favour it had lost.

The corrective action of the Justices of Hickes's Hall had swept away the gaming-tables and the raffling-shops, and with them the gay and not over reputable frequenters of such places. As for the "waters," they had never quite gone out of favour with the section of the public to which such medicinal panaceas appealed; and now, shorn of the illegitimate attractions for which Duffield and his associates had been responsible, the Wells settled down once more into a career of respectability, again becoming a fashionable resort and a

Vues diverses des VILLAGES pres de LONDRES.



Charles Diller & Co. del.

Published according to Act of Parliament 1732

A View of Hampstead from the foot way next the Great Road Pond Street. | Vue de Hampstead de la Chaussée pres du Grand étomon Rue du Bâillon.

London Printed for & sold by C. Dacey & Co. in Altemary Church Yard

haunt of literary men, and again having the value of its "medicinal spring" vaunted to the world by doctors.

Dr. Gibbons was dead ; but an equally ardent champion of the Hampstead waters was ready in 1734 to claim for them every virtue that the zealous "Mirmillo" had discovered in them, and much more. This new advocate was Dr. John Soame, a Hampstead medical man, whose little book, dedicated



VIEW TAKEN FROM THE POND (NO LONGER EXISTING) BELOW JUDGES' WALK, SHOWING HARROW IN THE DISTANCE, 1796.

From an aquatint after T. Stowers.

"To John Mitchel, Esq.," the then "Proprietor of the *Hampstead-Wells*," entitled *Hampstead-Wells, or Directions for the Drinking of those Waters*, attracted some attention at the time, and led, there is reason to believe, to a considerable accession of visitors to Hampstead. Dr. Soame insisted that these waters were "as good, if not better, than any in these Parts of *Great Britain*," and (after a long dissertation) that the Hampstead Spring might be justly called "The Inexhaustible Fountain of Health." As to the doctor's

analysis and experiments there is no need to say anything at this day. His reflections and general remarks are of greater interest. Dr. Soame waxed grandiloquent on the degeneracy of the race, even as some do at the present time; attributing most of the evils from which British humanity was suffering to the tea-drinking habit, and predicting that if it were continued "the next Generation" might be "more like Pigmies in stature, than Men and Women."

Of course, the Hampstead waters were the remedy. The good doctor had more than a sneaking regard, however, for tobacco, and assured smokers that they might indulge in the weed at the Wells with all the safety in the world, though he cautioned them "not to offend the Company, especially the Ladies, who cannot well relish that Smoke with their Waters." In his "directions" for taking the waters Dr. Soame throws light upon the kind of exercises in which visitors were advised to indulge while undergoing the "treatment." Violent exercises, such as "some of your Country Dances," were to be avoided as a hindrance to "the due Digestion of the Waters." An hour after they had "done drinking the Waters," they might amuse themselves "with the Diversions of the Place," and they were counselled to be "of a merry and chearful Disposition." A ride of four or five miles after breakfast was recommended, "because, by the Motion of the Horse, the Stomach and Viscera are thereby borne up and contracted, by which means the Waters will be better digested."

Dr. Soame's pamphlet is of more particular interest for the description it gives—in enthusiastic and perhaps a little exaggerated language—of Hampstead as it was in 1734.

HAMPSTEAD is a most delightful village, very happy in its Situation, being somewhat romantick yet every way pleasant. It is situated upon several little Hills, on a high Ground of different Soils; some Parts being upon a Clay Loom and other Parts on a Gravel. Here it is, that you draw in a pure and balmy Air, with the Heavens clear and serene above you, in that Season of the Year that the great and populous City of *London* (from which it is distant not above four Miles) is cover'd with Fogs, Smoaks, and other thick Darkness, being frequently oblig'd to burn Candles in the middle of the Day; while we are here bless'd with the benign and comfortable Rays of a glorious Sun, breathing a free and wholesome Air without the noisome Smell of stinking Fogs, or other malignant Fumes and Vapours, too, too common in large Cities.

After descanting upon the "Chalybeate Water" as it breaks "from the Declivity of the Hill to the East of the Town, near the Chapel [the old Pump or Great Room] and Bowling-Green," he proceeds to enlarge upon the "noble and extensive View."

To the *East* in particular where I have (by the help of a Telescope) seen very plain,

on a clear day, *Gravesend* Windmill, which must be twenty-five Miles distant from this Place. But when we mount up higher upon the Heath you have the View more extensive; and at the Summit, you may see into nine or ten Counties at the least. I have seen out of Mr. *Brooke's* Parlour with his Telescope, the Ships lying at Anchor before *Gravesend*, and even a good way beyond it. Here you may divert your Eyes either by seeing the Ships sailing up and down the River, or with the View of several fine Palaces which you may see with your naked Eye; as *Windsor Castle*, which, in a clear Morning or Evening appears very plain and noble, tho' above twenty Miles from you; the Duke of *Chandois's* Palace at *Edgware* appears as if it was within two or three Miles of you, and the Earl of *Tilney's* at *Wanstead* appears the same, tho' they are both of them above seven Miles distant.

Dr. Soame's commendation, it may well be believed, brought many people to Hampstead. It is a curious comment on this episode to find that Park, the Hampstead historian of 1814, who has much to say in derision of Dr. Soame's "hyperbolic praise," himself fell into something of the same error in regard to the commendations of the "waters of Hampstead and Kilburn" by Dr. John Bliss, another local physician, who wrote in 1802. The historian frankly confessed to being himself "indebted as well for the friendship as for the skill" of Dr. Bliss; and this may perhaps account for the endorsement of Bliss's views. According to Soame the water was "a sulphuric chalybeate"; but Bliss contended that it was "a simple carbonated chalybeate."

While we are on this subject it will be of interest to refer to still another attempt to "boom" the Hampstead waters, made by Dr. Thomas Goodwin in 1804. This physician claimed that he had himself discovered some "neutral saline springs" at the "south-east extremity of the Heath near Pond street," resembling those at Cheltenham, and gave elaborate notes of analysis and experiments. It was all of no avail. By that time the position of Hampstead as a residential suburb of London was well established. At this day the less said about the health-giving properties of the Hampstead springs the better. The whole subject has been ably dealt with by Mr. G. W. Potter, formerly one of the trustees of the Wells and Campden Charity, in his *Hampstead Wells*, published in 1904. Here it is shown, as was reported to the trustees on November 19, 1902, on the authority of the late Dr. Littlejohn, medical officer of health for Hampstead, that the chalybeate water—both that of the Well Walk fountain and what was obtained on sinking a shaft—"cannot be used for drinking purposes without danger to health."

In the middle of the eighteenth century, it may be, the water was pure enough, though at no time could it have been of exceptional importance from a medicinal point of view. It was good for people to resort to the Wells and

drink the water, if thereby they abstained from beverages that were really harmful; it was good for them to come to the high altitude to breathe the air of Hampstead, and be dieted there.

The fresh lease of popularity given to the Wells by the removal of disreputable people and usages, and by the Soame campaign of commendation, must have been very gratifying to the residents in Hampstead. Society came to the Hill again, and with it a new generation of poets and wits, as well



ENTRANCE TO THE HEATH FROM NEAR POND STREET ABOUT 1840. (This Pond no longer exists.)

From a lithograph by G. Childs.

as one or two of the former period. In a letter to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, of August 22, 1720, advising that statesman to take care of his health, occurs the following passage: "and as for air, which perhaps some may think may cure almost without medicines, pray, are not Hampstead, Kensington, etc., very good places for air?"¹

Voltaire is said to have made two visits to Hampstead while he was in England in 1726-29, but it was to dine with a Quaker there, Mr. Andrew Pitt,

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Portland MSS., 5, 602. C. Lawton to Earl of Oxford.

not to take the waters. The great Frenchman was in sympathy with Quakerism on one point—a steadfast hatred of war—and desiring to make the acquaintance of a well-informed English Quaker, was introduced to Mr. Andrew Pitt, whom he accompanied on one occasion to a Friends' Meeting-House. The evidence of Voltaire's visits to Hampstead rests on the statement of Dr. Howard, Rector of St. George's, Southwark, who in referring to an edition of Berkeley's *Alciphron*, published in 1732, wrote: "I will give the public Voltaire's opinion of the Book. The occasion was this: When Voltaire was in England, he twice dined with Mr. Andrew Pitt, a Quaker, at Hampstead. Soon after his Return into France, *Alciphron* made its first appearance. Mr. Pitt, who was a very orthodox Believer, and thought Voltaire had not Faith enough, made him a present of this Book, and sent it into France after him for his Conversion."¹ Voltaire's acknowledgment of the book came in due course and is extant. Andrew Pitt died at Hampstead in April 1736.

Gay was there in 1727, taking the waters "for the colic"; this is more reminiscent of the first than of the second Wells period. Pope and Arbuthnot were there at this transition stage. The Kit-Cats no longer met at The Upper Flask; but the place was dear to the two men for other reasons. Until 1744, the year of his death, Pope often resorted to Hampstead to enjoy the society of Mr. Murray, the successful lawyer who was afterwards to become Lord Mansfield. Murray and he frequently walked together through the avenues of Ken Wood, years before Murray became its owner. This friendship and local association is referred to by "Edward Coxe, Esq. of Hampstead Heath," in a volume entitled *Miscellaneous Poetry*, 1805, in the following lines which occur in his ode "To Commemorate the Preservation of the Nine Elms, on Hampstead Heath":

And late, when MURRAY deign'd to rove
Beneath Caen-Wood's sequester'd grove,
They² wander'd oft, when all was still,
With him and POPE on Hampstead-Hill.

Drawn by sympathy Pope had spent much time at Hampstead trying to

¹ *A Collection of Letters from Original MSS., etc.* Edited by Dr. Howard, Rector of St. George's, Southwark, 1735. Professor Hales contributed an interesting paper on this subject to *The Hampstead Annual* for 1903.

² The Muses.



Photo, Emery Walker.

JOHN GAY.

After the original painting by Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery.

cheer his friend Gay. Both were severe sufferers from the South Sea Bubble. While Pope bore up manfully, Gay nearly succumbed under his loss, and it is possible that but for the exhilarating effects of the Hampstead air and the sympathy and care of Pope and Arbuthnot in 1722, the genius that four years later was to delight the Town with *The Beggars' Opera* would have been extinguished. Pope, always more or less of an invalid himself, was at Hampstead frequently in 1734, performing for Arbuthnot the same kind offices that he and Arbuthnot had performed for Gay twelve years earlier.



ALEXANDER POPE.

From an old engraving.

In a letter from which Mrs. White quotes,¹ the poet says: "I spent a whole day with him [Arbuthnot] at Hampstead. He was in the Long Room half the morning, and has parties at cards every night. Mrs. Lepell and Mrs. Saggione and her sons and two daughters are all with him." In a letter of July 30, 1730, Pope wrote: "Mrs. Cornish is just now going to some such soft retreat as Hampstead . . . having read the following epigram:

When other fair ones to the shades go down,
Still Cloe, Flavia, Delia, stay in town;
Those ghosts of beauty wand'ring here reside
And haunt the places where their honour dy'd."²

¹ *Sweet Hampstead*, 1900, p. 272.

² Letter from Pope to Mr. Knight, of Gosfield Hall, Hist. MSS. Com., Earl of Ashburnham MSS.

It was from Hampstead that Arbuthnot, only a few months before his death, wrote to Swift telling him that, "contrary to his expectation," he had "recovered his strength to a considerable degree," but expected upon going back to London to have a return of the ailments, which were likely to be fatal to him. He said, "I am at present in the case of a man that was almost in harbour, and then blown back to sea; who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one."



JOHN ARBUTHNOT, M.D.

From a stipple engraving by T. Prescott.

Arbuthnot had no misgivings as to the nearness of the end. "I am going out of this troublesome world," he assured the Dean, "and you, among the rest of my friends, shall have my last prayers and good wishes." Swift's answer to the invalid at Hampstead was in a more sympathetic vein than was usual with the misanthropic Dean. "I do not know," he wrote, "among mankind, any person more prepared to part from us than yourself. . . . For among all your qualities that have procured you the love and esteem of the world, I ever most valued your moral and Christian virtues, which were not the product of years of sickness, but of reason and religion, as I can witness

after above five and twenty years of acquaintance, except only the too little care of your fortune." Arbuthnot died in the following March, and was sincerely mourned, especially by his literary friends, Swift declaring that he had more wit than them all, and that his humanity was equal to his wit. Pope continued to haunt Hampstead at intervals until the year of his death, 1744.

With the departure of these worthies we enter upon a new set of Hampstead literary associations. Richardson, the creator of the novel of



WEATHERALL HOUSE, 1911. (FORMERLY THE OLD LONG ROOM.)

From a drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

sentiment, Dr. Johnson, Fanny Burney, Goldsmith, Fielding, Smollett, and other stars of the Georgian firmament were attracted to Hampstead, its health-giving air and waters, and its fashionable gatherings at the Wells. The Great Room of the former period was, as we have seen, now a place of worship; the raffling-shops and card-rooms had been displaced by dwellings; and a new building called the Wells House, close to the tavern, was utilised for dispensing the waters. The greatest change of all was brought about by the construction of new Assembly Rooms, on ground a little farther west than the old Great Room, the building, with but little alteration, being now



Published according to Act of Parliament, 1754.

A View of a Long Room at Hamptonsted, from the Heath. [Vue de la Chambre-longue à Hamptonsted du Côté de la Colline.
 London: Printed for, & Sold by C. Dacey & Co. in Aldermans Church Yard.

known, as Mr. Potter points out, "as Weatherall House, 7 and 9 Well Walk, and Burgh House; the stabling and gardens in rear in Well Road, and land also on the east side of the road formed part of the outbuildings and grounds." Mr. Goodwin Rooth, who came to Weatherall House in 1876, transformed the building into a handsome Queen Anne house without destroying the original structure, which he entirely encased with red brick for warmth,



THE DINING-ROOM, WEATHERALL HOUSE, PRESENT DAY, INCORPORATING A PORTION
OF THE OLD LONG ROOM.

From a water-colour drawing by J. Fulleylove in the possession of Mr. Henry S. Rooth.

and enlarged some of the rooms. Apart from these modifications, the walls of the Long Room have not been interfered with. It is not quite clear when the house first received its present name, but it has certainly borne it for over sixty years, being so called during the residence of Mr. Cordery, the banker, who was there in 1860. In Park's time (1813) Mr. Charles Cooper was the occupant, and later a Mr. Baxendale had the house.

Burgh House, I have it on the authority of the present occupant, Dr.

Williamson, was built in 1703, and appears to have been at one time the residence of the physician to the Hampstead Wells. Its original owners were Quakers of the name of Sewell (Henry and Hannah), and the house gives the idea of Quaker severity of style combined with a good quality of work. It is panelled throughout, and has a very fine oak staircase. The name of Burgh was derived from the Rev. Allatson Burgh, or de Burgh, who resided in the house



WROUGHT-IRON GATES AT THE ENTRANCE TO BURGH HOUSE.

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

in 1822, and built on part of the garden a large music room, now used as a library. What its name was previously I have not been able to discover. Mr. Burgh was a rector in the city, and the composer of a work on church music, published by Longmans.¹ Burgh House is depicted on five pieces of the Wedgwood service, made in 1774, for Catherine II., Empress of Russia. This service, of

¹ *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical*, in a series of letters from a Father to his Daughter. 3 vols. 8vo; Longmans, 1814.

upwards of 1200 pieces, which cost £3500, has been made the subject of an interesting monograph by Dr. Williamson.¹ The fine wrought-iron entrance gates to the house are contemporary with the building. The house originally possessed a good deal of land in front of it, extending on both sides and bordered by the narrow footpath of Well Walk.

The new Assembly Rooms consisted partly of some old buildings altered to suit the requirements of the time, but mainly, according to the description given in a Court Rolls entry of 1753, of "a new room called the Assembly Rooms." At what precise date between 1734 and 1753 this Long Room was opened I have not been able to ascertain; but in the interval between the abandoning of the first Great or Pump Room and the establishing of the new one there must have been some building which served the purpose of an assembly room, and this would probably be in the older buildings eventually incorporated with the new Assembly Rooms. These Rooms continued to be used as places of public entertainment until the end of the eighteenth century.

Defoe in his *Tour*, first published in 1724-27, remarks that, besides the Long Room, "in which the Company meet publicly on a *Monday* Evening to play at Cards, etc., . . . the Master of that built an Assembly Room 60 feet long, and 30 wide, elegantly decorated. Every one who does not subscribe pays half a Crown for admittance. Every gentleman who subscribes a Guinea for the Season has a Ticket for himself and for two Ladies. Gentlemen and Ladies who lodge in the Town, are entertained every Sunday for 6d. each, with Tea and Coffee, but with no other Amusements, but what they find out for one another, and from one another." This token or ticket (struck in copper) has now become exceedingly rare; an illustration, taken from one in the possession of Mr. E. E. Newton, appears on p. 217. The author of *Robinson Crusoe* seems to have been surprised by the progress of Hampstead, which, he observed, had "risen from a little village almost to a city"; adding, "nor could the uneven Surface, inconvenient for Building, check the Humour of the Builders, for even on the very Steep of the Hill, where there is no walking Twenty yards together, without tugging up, or straddling down, a Hill, the Buildings are increased to that degree that the Town almost spreads the whole side of the Hill."

Among the Pond Street residents at this period was a Mr. Thomas

¹ *The Imperial Russian Dinner Service*. A story of a famous work by Josiah Wedgwood. 4to; Bell, 1909.

Cotton, whose will was proved in August 1730 by Bridget Cotton, his widow, and Thomas Cotton his son.¹ Mr. John Whishaw of Hampstead, described as “formerly a considerable solicitor—married to a very rich widow, left off all business, and residing entirely at Hampstead”; and Mr. Fraser Honeywood, “a gent. of £2000 per annum,” were among the persons recommended for appointments as local magistrates towards the middle of the century.²

Hampstead, now full of life, kept its respectability. There were plenty of



NORTH-WEST CORNER OF SOUTH END GREEN AND POND STREET, HAMPSTEAD, 1890.

From a drawing by Appleton in the Coates Collection.

concerts, entertainments, and dances in the Long Room, while the Assemblies, supported by the subscriptions of residents, were highly fashionable.

A poetical item referring to this period appears in Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*, a collection of folio songs consisting of words and music, many of which were sung at the various public gardens of the time. Two volumes were issued, but were undated, although many of the items have dates between 1733 and 1737 at the bottom. Each song has at the top a beautifully

¹ *Genealogical Gleanings in England*.

² Duke of Newcastle's Correspondence, British Museum MSS., 35603-4.



Chuteaux, D'An et Smith.

Published according to an Act of Parliament 1752

A View of Hampstead from the Top of Pond Street - I Vue de Hampstead, du haut de la Rue du Bassin.

London Printed for W. Mallet, C. Dacey & Co. in Aldermanbury Church Yard.

engraved view executed by George Bickham, jun., who is chiefly known as a writing-master. Gravelot also drew some of the designs, which are all more or less in the style of Watteau, and are mostly of an arcadian or pastoral character. A few, notably "Rural Beauty or Vauxhal Garden," "The Adieu to the Spring Gardens," and "The Charms of Dishabille, or New Tunbridge Wells at Islington," are undoubtedly views of the places mentioned, but the one relating to Hampstead is altogether imaginative, showing as it does a kind of castellated mansion and a flowing river in the foreground, with high mountains in the background, very much like a scene on the Rhine, or in Switzerland. Immediately below this view are engraved, on the left, the



BOTTOM OF POND STREET IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

From *The Pledge of Friendship*, afterwards issued in Marshall's *Views of Great Britain*, no date, but about 1830.

words, "Set by Mr. Wichello," and on the right, the number of the page or song, "15," and "G. Bickham, junr. sc." Then follow the title and words of the song as below :

THE BEAUTYS OF HAMPSTEAD

Summer's heat ye Town invades,
All repair to cooling Shades ;
How inviting, How delighting,
Are the Hills and flow'ry Meads.

Here, were lovely Hampstead stands,
And ye Neighb'ring Vale commands ;
What surprising Prospects rising,
All around adorn the Lands.

Here, ever woody Mounts arise ;
 There, verdant Lawns delight our Eyes ;
 Where Thames wanders, In Meanders,
 Lofty Domes approach the Skies.

Here are Grottos, purling Streams,
 Shades defying Titans beams ;
 Rosy Bowers, Fragrant Flowers,
 Lovers Wishes, Poets Themes !

Of the Chrystal bub'ling Well,
 Life & Strength the Current Swell
 Health & Pleasure, (Heavenly Treasure)
 Smiling here united dwell.

Here Nymphs & Swains indulge their Hearts,
 Share the Joys our Scenes imparts ;
 Here be strangers, To all dangers ;
 All—but those of Cupid's darts.

(Then the musical accompaniment for the flute is given.) This is undoubtedly the first song relating to Hampstead that was set to music, and is nearly always referred to in different books as the “Beauties of Hampstead,” a mode of spelling not quite as in the original, which for the sake of those interested in such matters, is here faithfully copied. It is evident the song attained some popularity, another edition having been issued but without the engraved view at the head.

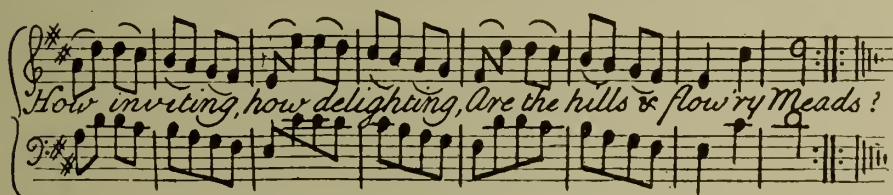
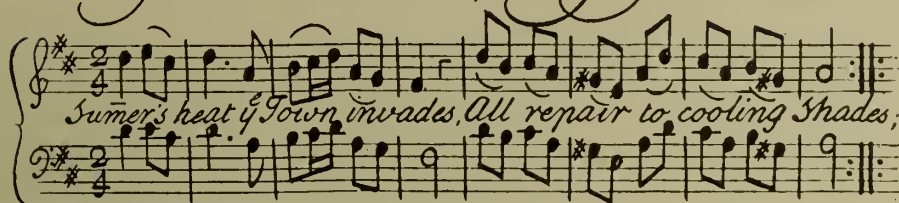
There is ample evidence that Hampstead all through the eighteenth century was a familiar spot to the leading authors of the time, many of whom made it an occasional place of residence ; and it was to Hampstead that the London merchants and shopkeepers, with their families, often betook themselves for rest and change of air. It was the chief of the London Spas. Fielding, in his *Tom Thumb the Great*, produced in 1730, has the following reference :

So when some city wife, for country air,
 To Hampstead or to Highgate does repair,
 Her to make haste her husband does implore,
 And cries, “My dear, the coach is at the door.”
 With equal wish, desirous to be gone,
 She gets into the coach, and then she cries—
 “Drive on !”

The city folk were rather looked down upon by the “quality,” who sneered at the aping of superior manners by inferior people, and the authors of the period found amusing material in these incidents ; but Hampstead could not afford to reserve its attractions solely for the approved of society. “Every illiterate coxcomb who had made a fortune by sharpening or by shop-keeping,”

Hampstead, a new Ballad .

Set by Mr. Wichello, sung by Mr. Baker.



2	stands	4
Here, ^{re} lovely Hampstead	Here are Grotto's purling streams,	
& Neighb'ring Vale commands;	Shades defying Titan's beams,	
What surprising	Rosy Bowers,	
Prospects rising,	Fragrant Flowers,	
All around adorn & Lands?	Lovers wishes, Poets Themes!	

3	5
Here, ever woody Mounts arise,	Of & Chrystal bubling Well,
There, verdant Lawns delight our eyes,	Life & Strength & Current Swell;
Where Thames wanders,	Health & Pleasure,
In Meanders,	(Heavenly Treasure!)
Lofty Domes approach & skies.	Smiling here united dwell.

6

Here Nymphs & Swains indulge their hearts,
 Share & joys our Scene imparts;
 Here, be strangers
 To all dangers;
 All — but those of Cupid's darts!



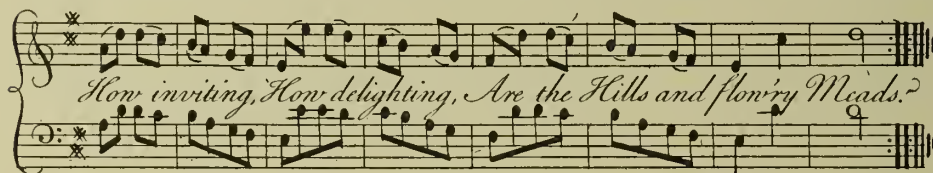
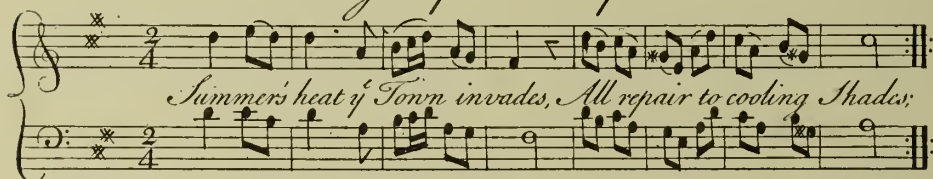


[The above view appears on the original, but obviously has no relation to Hampstead.]

Set by M^r Nicholls.

G. Bickham jun. sc.

THE Beautys of Hampstead.



Here, were lovely Hampstead stands,
And y^e Neighb'ring Vale commands;
What surprising Prospects rising, —
All around adorn the Lands. —

Here are Grottos, purling Streams, —
Shades defying Titans beams, —
Rosy Bowers, Fragrant Flowers,
Lovers Wishes Poets Themes! —

Here, ever woody Mounts arise; —
There, verdant Lawns delight our Eyes,
Where Thames wanders, In Meanders,
Lofty Domes approach the Skies. —

Of the Chrystal bubbling Well, —
Life & Strength the Current Swell
Health & Pleasure, (Heavenly Treasure)
Smiling here united dwell. —

Here Nymphs & Inuins indulge their Hearts,
Share the Joys our Scenes imparts;
Here be strangers, To all dangers;
All — but those of Cupid's darts.



Reproduction of "The Beautys of Hampstead" from Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*, about 1737.

said one writer, in commenting on the frequenters of these resorts, "will endeavour to mimic the great ones"; but "the Ludgate Hill hobble, the Cheapside swing, and the general City jolt and wriggle, may easily be perceived in spite of the artifices the smart folks put on."

Fielding would often visit the Wells to see the gay throng assembled there; and his sympathies were broad enough to accommodate both the cits and the dons, the humours as well as the elegances. His enemy



From an engraving in the *New Novelist's Magazine*, 1793.

Richardson, the desire to satirise whom made Fielding a novelist, was, we know, often drawn to Hampstead, and commemorated The Upper Flask in his most famous novel, *Clarissa Harlowe*. Not many people read Richardson in these days; he is too prolix for twentieth-century tastes; but beneath his placid stream of epistolary garrulity there exist a power of characterisation and a faculty of description which give us a clearer picture of certain aspects of the life of his time than we get from any other writer. To Alfred de Musset *Clarissa Harlowe* was the finest romance in the world; Diderot

considered it equal to the Greek classics; Macaulay found it irresistible. When it first appeared, in 1748, it was read everywhere, and the fidelity of its depictions was one of its great charms. It is this that renders it of special value for its Hampstead scenes. Lovelace, who, on some ingenious lover's pretext, had lured Clarissa from her home, took her to Hampstead, along with two sponging-house women. "The coach carried us to Hampstead, to Highgate, to Muswell Hill," writes Lovelace to his friend Belford, "then back to Hampstead to The Upper Flask. There, in compliment to the nymphs, my beloved consented to alight, and take a little repast." Then they "walked out upon the Heath to view the varied prospects which that agreeable elevation affords." When Clarissa discovered Lovelace's perfidy, she made her escape back to town, but later went to Hampstead again and alone. One of Lovelace's creatures tracked her to The Flask, thereupon writing to his employer: "If your honner come to the Upper Flax, I will be in site all the day about the Tapphouse on the Hethe. I have borrowed another cote, instead of your honner's liferie, and a black wig; soe can not be known by my lady, if as how she should see me." Lovelace took up the pursuit; and found Clarissa, not at the inn but at some lodgings near. "The Hampstead coach," he wrote to Belford, "when the dear fugitive came to it, had but two passengers in it; but she made the fellow go off directly, paying for the vacant place. The two passengers directing the coachman to set them down at The Upper Flask, she bid him set her down there also. They took leave of her very respectfully, no doubt, and she went into the house and asked if she could not have a dish of tea, and a room to herself for half an hour. They showed her up to the very room where I now am. She sat at the very table I now write upon; and I believe the chair I sit upon was hers. O, Belford, if thou knowest what love is, thou wilt be able to account for these minutiae!" Representing to the people of the house that Clarissa was his wife, he was by them assisted in getting her again under his influence. On leaving Hampstead, Clarissa went "towards Hendon, passing by the sign of the Castle on the Heath"; then she stopped and wept, and returned to her lodging in Hampstead. There is a reference to The Lower Flask, in Flask Walk, in Richardson's novel; it is described as "a place where second-rate characters were to be found occasionally in a swinish condition."

Richardson himself spent much time at Hampstead, meeting there Colley Cibber, Mrs. Donnellan, Lady Bradshaigh, and a host of fashionable people who were never weary of pouring into his enchanted ears their praises of his

HAMPSTEAD HEATH.

LOOKING ACROSS THE VALE OF HEALTH TO HIGHGATE.

From an Oil Painting

by JOHN CONSTABLE, R.A.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1827.

(Size of Original Picture, 21 ins. \times 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins.)

*In the Sheepshanks Collection,
Victoria and Albert Museum.*



works. He was the literary idol of the hour. It was a happy time that he had at Hampstead, surrounded by worshippers, and himself as full of pleasant prattle as the most talkative of them all.

Dr. Young, author of *Night Thoughts*, Gray of the *Elegy*, Akenside (living with his friend and patron Jeremiah Dyson at Golder's Hill House), Mrs. Montagu, and many other literary and social celebrities gathered about the Wells in this mid-eighteenth-century period. The solid figure of Dr. Johnson



Photo, Emery Walker.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON.

From the painting by Joseph Highmore in the National Portrait Gallery.

appears on the scene in the summer of 1746. At that time he was only plain Samuel Johnson, a struggling writer, thirty-seven years of age, with an ailing wife of fifty-eight. "Mrs. Johnson for the sake of the country air," writes Boswell, "had lodgings at Hampstead, to which Johnson occasionally resorted." For his own part, Johnson would doubtless have preferred Fleet Street; but he was fond of his wife, and felt in duty bound to minister to her pleasures as far as his limited means admitted. Her friend Mrs. Desmoulins hinted that Mrs. Johnson "indulged herself in country air and nice living at an unsuitable expense" while Johnson was "drudging in the smoke of London." Whether

this was a just conclusion or not, Johnson, who was then busy with his *Dictionary*, must have found his meagre resources severely taxed by the Hampstead lodging ; but we may be sure he never complained to his wife. Sometimes while she was resting comfortably in bed at Frognal, Johnson, unable to pay the coach fare to join her, was walking about all night in the streets of London ; for he could not afford the luxury of a Town lodging for himself as well as that at Hampstead for his wife. The Mitre would have his company until a late hour on these



DR. JOHNSON.

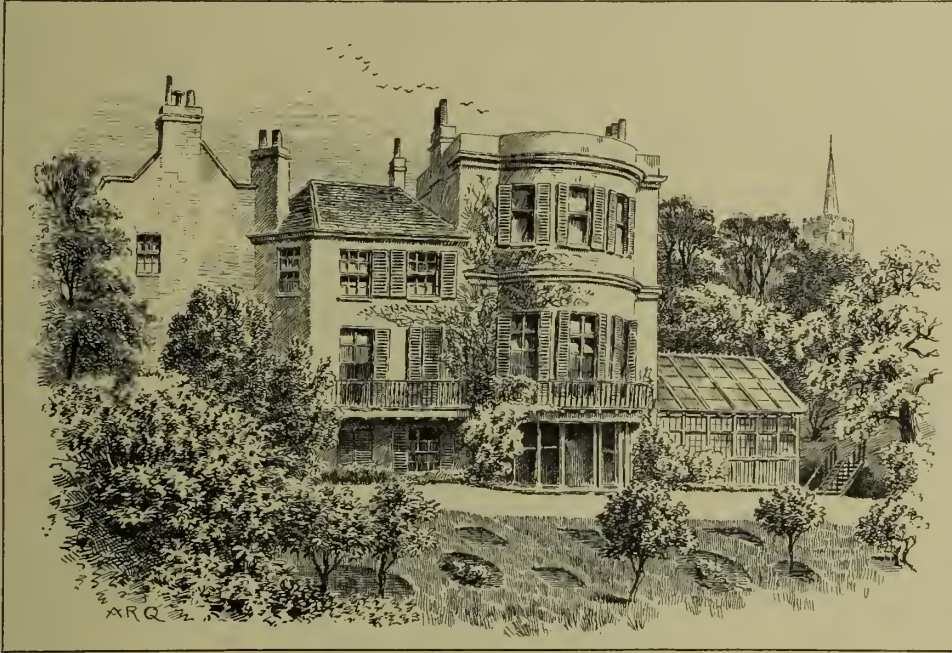
After the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the National Portrait Gallery.

nights, and now and then Goldsmith or some other friend would offer him the hospitality of his chambers. In the early morning he would trudge valiantly off to Hampstead, arriving there long before the coach. His weekly day or days off duty would of course be spent with his wife ; and at convenient times he would accompany her to the Wells, possibly coming across Richardson, by whose generosity he was once freed from detention in a sponging-house for a debt of five pounds eighteen shillings.

There is a stronger Johnsonian association with Hampstead than that of the lexicographer's presence. It was there, as Boswell tells us, that Johnson wrote "the greatest part, if not the whole, of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*."

Johnson himself is more precise on this point. "I wrote," he said, "the first seventy lines of *The Vanity of Human Wishes* in the course of one morning, in that small house beyond the church. The whole number was completed before I threw a single couplet on paper." It was at Hampstead that he caught the inspiration to

Let observation, with extensive view,
Survey mankind from China to Peru ;



PRIORY LODGE, FROGNAL, 1911.

A side view taken from the grounds. The low central portion was that occupied by Dr. Johnson.

From an original drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

there that, with painful thoughts of his own rebuffs, he "paused awhile from letters to be wise," and recalled with bitterness the

ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the garret, and the jail.
See nations, slowly wise and meanly just,
To buried merit raise the tardy bust.
If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,
Hear Lydiat's life, and Galileo's end.

The "small house beyond the church" has since been added to and enlarged ; and John James Park's wish that its identity should be recorded "for the gratification of posterity" is thankfully remembered, for we have it on his authority that "the house so dignified was the last house in Froggnal

southward." This house was occupied in 1814 by Mr. B. C. Stephenson, an eminent architect, and later investigations have proved that the older portion of Priory Lodge, opposite Frogmal Lane, was the house. For the past twenty years or more this house has been untenanted, except by caretakers. Its last occupier was the late Mr. Pfeil. The world owes *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, the best and longest of the Doctor's poems, to the circumstance of the author's necessity of raising money to meet the charges of the Hampstead retreat: we have it as one of the articles of his literary faith that "no man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money." Let us hope that the fifteen guineas he received for the poem sufficed for his Hampstead needs.

It is to be regretted that Johnson did not leave behind him any record of his impressions of Hampstead and of his life there. We should have liked to know whether he went to church to listen to the discourses of the vicar, the Rev. Langhorne Warren; whether in his rambles he ever saw the "patron" whose favour he had sought in vain, Lord Chesterfield, then owner of Belsize; and what he thought of the Heath, the Wells, and the society that gathered there. Evidently he was not inspired by these subjects.

It is more than likely that later in life Johnson occasionally visited his friend George Steevens, whom he assisted in the bringing out of the famous Steevens edition of Shakespeare. Steevens lived in the house which had previously been the Upper Flask Inn, where the Kit-Cats had met during the summer days; and although the annotator is said, during the preparation of his work, to have gone to London from Hampstead every morning between four and five o'clock with the patrol, carrying with him the results of his labours of the preceding night for the printers, the connection between him and Johnson was close enough to warrant the supposition that Johnson would sometimes be Steevens's guest at Hampstead. At any rate, we know that Johnson was at Hampstead in June and July 1783. Thirty-seven years had intervened between his first visit with his wife and this last visit. His wife had been dead over thirty years; and now, "full of years and honour," but broken in health, he again sought strength from the Hampstead breezes, this time for himself. Steevens was still living there, a recluse; no longer as of old, as the poet depicted him,

Whom late, from Hampstead journeying to his book
Aurora oft for Cephalus mistook,
What time he brushed her dews with hasty pace,
To meet the Printer's dev'let face,¹

¹ *The Pursuits of Literature*, by T. J. Mathias, 1796.

but keeping aloof from all local acquaintance. Let us trust that his heart melted to sociability when his old friend was his neighbour and in bad health. Under date July 1, 1783, Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale: "This morning I tooke the air by a ride to Hampstead, and this afternoon I dined with the Club." That is all. How long he stayed, whom he saw, or what he did beyond riding and dining, we know not. He died the following year.

Mrs. Thrale herself had been a frequent visitor to the Long Room; even in her wanderings abroad after she became Mrs. Piozzi the memory of its



GEORGE STEEVENS.

From the portrait by Zoffany.

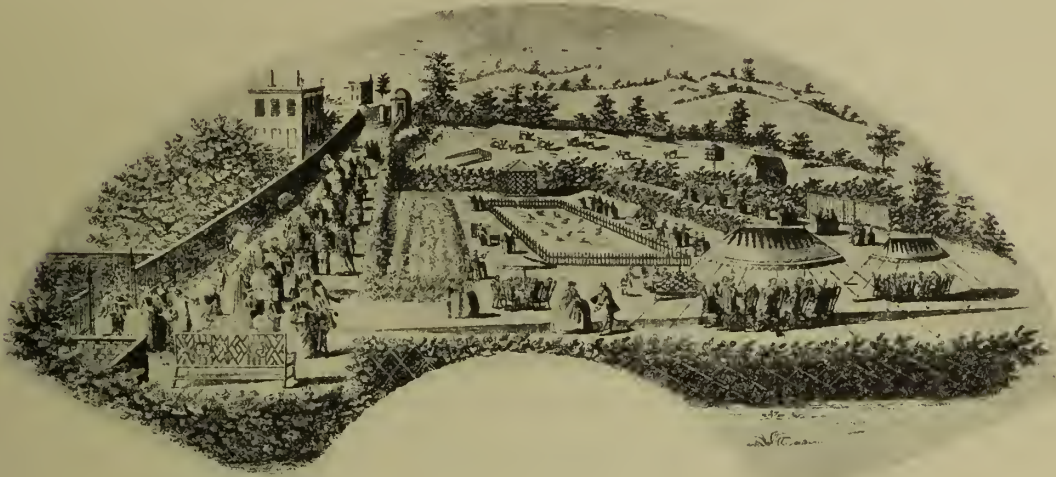
diversions recurs to her. Writing to Lysons, the antiquary, from Venice on the 30th April 1785, she accuses him of being "very lazy indeed" to write to her "on a short bit of paper . . . as if it was a letter sent by the Hampstead Hurry to fetch a turbot up the hill for a dinner at the Long Room." The Hampstead Hurry was of course the unhurrying Hampstead coach of those days. This was about the time when the banker-poet, Rogers, then a young man, used to dance four or five minuets in the Long Room of an evening, and see "a great deal of good company."

The Long Room was much resorted to for private festive gatherings. In the Coates Collection there is an engraving, said to have been executed

by Gravelot, and reproduced on the next page,¹ of a pictorial fan-mount presented to the lady guests of Thomas Osborne, the bookseller, in 1754, at a fête given by him at his house at Hampstead. Osborne had a bookshop in Gray's Inn Gateway, and having prospered in business was anxious to secure a better social status than he had theretofore enjoyed; so he took a house of some pretensions near Hampstead Heath, and sought to mix with the chief residents of the neighbourhood. At first his efforts do not appear to have been over successful, but he was persistent, and making the acquaintance of a Captain Pratten, who was one of the leaders of the society frequenting the Long Room, and self-constituted master of the ceremonies there, the ambitious bookseller was put in the way of attaining his desires. The Captain proposed to Mr. Osborne that, in order to ingratiate himself with the principal families of Hampstead, he should provide a public breakfast for the ladies and a duck hunt for the gentlemen. The proposal was supported by another Hampstead resident, Mr. Scarlett, a noted Macclesfield Street optician of the time, and inventor of a microscope for viewing opaque objects; and on September 10, 1754, the gathering took place, the guests enjoying themselves so much that they were "loath to depart." Captain Pratten, therefore, made the further suggestion to the delighted bookseller that he had better continue the entertainment "by a cold collation," to which ample justice was done, we are told. The company still stayed on, and the resourceful Captain was ready with a further excuse for prolonging their entertainment, hinting to Mr. Osborne that as the day was so far advanced he had better send to one of the taverns for their dancing-tent and a band and so make a good finish of so eventful a day. Again the bookseller consented. The tent was set up in the courtyard in front of the house, and the revels were kept up to a late hour. Then, as a crowning memento of the great occasion, Captain Pratten persuaded Mr. Osborne to have the scene already mentioned engraved and presented in the shape of a fan to each of the lady visitors. This fan, which we may presume shows a good deal of artistic—not to say poetic—licence, depicts, on one side, the field with the breakfast marquees and duck pond, and Hampstead Heath in the distance, Captain Pratten being shown entering the field with Mrs. Scarlett and her daughter. On the other side of the fan is a view of Osborne's house, with the dancing-tent and band, with Captain Pratten and his two companions as spectators. On the left hand is a gate opening on the Hampstead Road, and on the right, the entrance to the field where the festivities commenced. It

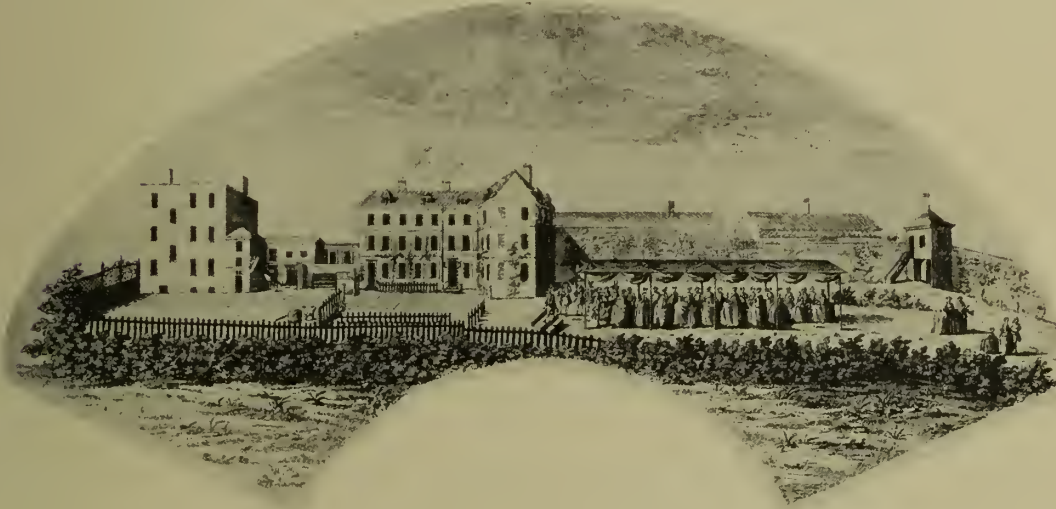
¹ It is believed that only one other copy of this engraving exists, and that is in the British Museum.

was not until October 5 that the fans were ready for presentation and distributed. The omission of a portrait of Mr. Osborne is a matter for regret, but



THE VIEW ON THE FRONT OF THE FAN PRESENTED TO EACH OF THE GUESTS OF MR. THOMAS OSBORNE AT A FÊTE GIVEN BY HIM AT HIS HOUSE ON HAMPSTEAD HEATH IN 1754.

From the engraving in the Coates Collection.



THE VIEW ON THE BACK OF THE SAME FAN, SHOWING THE GUESTS DANCING IN FRONT OF THE LONG ROOM.

From the engraving in the Coates Collection.

Captain Pratten was too intent upon his own glorification to think of so small a detail as that.

The Long Room assemblies were under the control of Mr. R. Simmonds during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, presumably as lessee. An advertisement in the *Morning Post* of November 20, 1779, announced to "subscribers and their friends" the last assembly of the season on "Monday next the 22nd inst." Mr. Simmonds seems to have been one of the few to handle the Wells property with profit. If the reference to him and his holdings made by Joseph Brasbridge, the goldsmith, in his autobiography, are to be relied upon, Simmonds had a tavern close to the Long Room, "with gardens for tea-drinking," and was noted for his excessive courtesy as M.C. of the assemblies. He bore himself so gallantly that his friends nicknamed him Baron Hampstead, Viscount Negus, or Earl of Bread and Butter, the moral of the story being contained in Mr. Brasbridge's statement that "by his obliging attentions to his guests Simmonds acquired a competency, with which he retired to Brighton."

Nancy Dawson, the famous hornpipe-dancer, who gained fame and fortune by her nimble exploits in *The Beggars' Opera*, ended her days in a snug retreat on Haverstock Hill in 1767, some twenty years after she had captivated the Town by her dancing. The song which celebrated her beauty remained in vogue—probably because of its catching air—to a much later date.¹ This was the style of it:

Of all the girls in our town,
The black, the fair, the red, the brown,
That dance and prance it up and down,
There's none like Nancy Dawson.

Her easy mien, her shape so neat,
She foots, she trips, she looks so sweet,
Her ev'ry motion is complete.
I die for Nancy Dawson.

Little is known, but much is conjectured, concerning her origin. Of her life at Hampstead hardly anything is recorded. Whether she was, as one authority avers, the daughter of a Clare Market porter, and before she took to the stage had been a waitress at Marylebone Gardens, where she set up the pins for the skittle players; or whether, as Musgrave² states, she was the wife of a publican near Kelso, "whom she deserted on his discovering that she had an intrigue with the exciseman of that district," is a question that may be left to take care of itself. Her public fame rather than her private

¹ The tune was used as a regimental march by the old Inns of Court Volunteers.

² *Adversaria* (No. 5719), in the British Museum.

character is the chief point of interest in her history. She was buried behind the Foundling Hospital, in the ground belonging to St. George the Martyr, and it is said that there was a tombstone over her grave bearing the simple words, "Here lies Nancy Dawson," and no more ; but no such stone remains at



NANCY DAWSON.

"See how she comes to give surprise
With joy and pleasure in her eyes."
Old Song, "Nancy Dawson."

From a contemporary print.

the present time. Nancy was probably attracted to Haverstock Hill by a desire to be near her old dancing-mistress, Moll King, who had built there three good houses, in one of which she lived. It was in a neat little villa close by these, and not far from Steele's cottage, that Nancy took her ease in

her later years. Both Steele's cottage and Moll King's house are depicted in the background of Hogarth's "March to Finchley." "Tom King's house"¹ is represented in an old engraving by Chatelain in 1750, and to this day there is a Dawson Terrace near the spot.

A still more notable ornament of the stage at this time was Mrs. Lessingham, who occupied the villa at Hampstead already referred to about 1775 and later, and made herself memorable in the history of the place because of her famous lawsuit, of which we shall have more to say in a later chapter. It was this lady's presence in Hampstead which drew Mr. Justice Addington to the village frequently, she being under his protection at this time. It is perhaps excusable to assume that but for this indirect support of the Law, she would not have dared to brave the wrath of the copyholders; nor would she have won her case. Mr. Justice Addington was arrested by a watchman one night in Great Russell Street under peculiar circumstances. The Justice had found a woman lying on the ground with two infants by her side, all in a helpless condition. After calling in vain for a watchman, he afterwards discovered one in a public-house, who, being accused of neglect of his duty, became insolent and, in spite of vigorous protest, haled the Justice off to the watch-house, with the result that the watchman lost his place and the landlord who had harboured him was fined twenty shillings.

Another woman who, in days when the public made heroes of highwaymen, was regarded as a celebrity, retired to Hampstead in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This was "Miss West," as she styled herself in her Hampstead days; she had previously been known to fame as "the modern Jenny Diver" and "the most accomplished lady pickpocket of her age." The original Jenny Diver, by the way, had been a frequent visitor to the Wells and to Belsize in the time of their revelry. The real Jenny seems to have been less clever than her imitator in keeping out of the clutches of the Law, having ended her daring career at Tyburn in 1740. "Miss West" managed to accumulate a little fortune, and when she died in her Hampstead house in 1783 she bequeathed a sum of £3000, "the fruits of her industry," to her two children, the elder of whom, Park says, was born in Bridewell prison, before the mother's removal to Newgate "under sentence of a year's imprisonment for picking a pocket in a room over Exeter 'Change, while the body of Lord Baltimore was lying there in state."

In the *Daily Journal* of August 2, 1732, we read that "yesterday

¹ This is probably a misprint for Moll King, Tom King having died before Moll King went to Hampstead.

MOLL KING.



Harry. To pay Moll, for I must like.
Moll. I'll pay you call me, Master?
Harry. To pay, in a wiff.
Moll. Let me see! There's a Grunter's Grog, is
a St. Gavern, two Cat's Heads, a Wino, a
Double Gage of Rum, Stobber's, Thramm,
and a Quarter of. That's three Mugs—
That make a Traveller all but a No.
Harry. Here, take your murther: tip the
Key to the Kitchen—But Moll, does
Jack deft in your hand now?
Moll. What Jack do you mean?
Harry. Why, Jack that gave you the
little brindle Bull Puppy.

Moll. He deft in a Pad of mine! No, Boy,
if I was to grapple him, he must shiver
his frotter at Bull's Ball.
Harry. But who had you in your Hen
last Parkee?
Moll. We had your fuddlers & your fufflers,
Jills, Buffers, & Hangovers: we had niver a Dwer
Cull, a Buttcher, or Porpus, amongst them, but
all as Rum was Quiddish as ever Jonathan
sent to be great Merchants in Virginia.
Harry. But, Moll, don't puff!—You must tip
me your Cheat before I cherich, for my kly's
has nailed me of mine: but I shall catch her
ne Maddox's Gint Stin, staving her, go & try

the Jinnery, & if she has merried it, Knecks
and Jocks, Shampys & Plumpys shall attend
the Free-Jole Butteching B—h.
Moll. I heard, he made a Jam So night a
Rum one, with Dainty Tassies, of a Shit from
Jether Sides, she flashed half a Nut, a Bulls
Eye, and some other rum Shamps.
Harry. Alderick, my blood, if I tout my
Nert, I'll tip her a Smith about y' Paps &
Lawsus, I shall see my jolly old Codger
by y' Jinnery side, I suppose with his Day
light dim, & his frotters shivering under
him.—Oh Oliver, what a Moll, I'll not touch this
Darker, I'll nap it fud's, see you in y' Morning.

MOLL KING.

From a contemporary copper-plate engraving.

morning died at Hampstead, Mrs. Asgil, a Widow Gentlewoman, reputed worth £30,000 ”; which indicates that this matchless suburb was favoured by all classes seeking rest and retirement.

The Honeywoods were among the leading Hampstead families about this period. Isaac Honeywood, cousin-german of Sir Edward Honeywood, the first baronet, lived in a mansion on Rosslyn Hill, near the chapel which he built, and died there on November 8, 1740. The Honeywood mansion was occupied by Mr. Fraser Honeywood in 1755, as we gather from the following mention of the place in *London in Miniature*: “This Town is situated on the Side of a Hill, at the foot of which is Belsize-house, the Ascent to which is a handsome Edifice, belonging to Fraser Honeywood, Esq., an eminent banker in London.” There was also a Sir John Honeywood resident in Hampstead a little later. In Pond Street about this time there was a brewery owned by Mr. Michael Combrune; and from a receipt in the Bell-Moor Collection it would seem that his price for “small beer” was 15s. the hogshead.¹

A further “end-of-the-world” scene affected Hampstead in 1736. Whiston, the translator of Josephus, had prophesied the destruction of the earth on the 13th of October in that year. Crowds of people went out to Hampstead and other northern suburbs to watch for the destruction of London, which was to be the “beginning of the end.” The most interesting result of this folly was that it provided Swift with matter for his vigorous satire, *A true and faithful Narrative of what passed in London on a Rumour of the Day of Judgment*, and furnished Pope and Gay with opportunities for new witticisms.

In 1761 there was a panic terror that seemed to have something stronger than irresponsible prophecy to excuse it. Two shocks of earthquake occurred early in that year. Chimneys were thrown down along the banks of the Thames; “the pewter fell to the ground at Hampstead, and at Highgate it was also very perceptible.”² Superstition soon got to work in connection with these events. The first shock, it was pointed out, was felt on February 8, the second on March 8, exactly a month later; the prophets began to announce that the third shock, which would destroy all, would happen on the 8th of April. It was the second shock which had been most severely felt at Hampstead. Many people worked themselves into a frenzy of alarm at the prospect of the third shock; a soldier in the Life Guards, named Bell, lost his

¹ No. 439, Annotated Catalogue of the Bell-Moor Collection.

² *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. x., Middlesex.

senses altogether, and ran about the streets prophesying the destruction of London. Thousands of families made their way to the heights, and Hampstead and Highgate became crowded with fugitives, the keepers of the lodging-houses in and around Well Walk being paid exorbitant prices for accommodation. When the dread day passed without a shock there was a rapid exodus from the village, and the place resumed its wonted calm.

It was a time of alarms, false and real, and in the comparative loneliness of Hampstead such things seemed to spring out of the empty void. One Peter Childs, a staymaker of Essex Street, made a deposition before Lord Stanhope on December 17, 1760, that "having started on his way home from Hampstead, about a quarter after five in the afternoon, he overheard between that place and Kentish Town a conversation between three persons relating to a scheme against the King's person, concerted by the brother of one Williams. They were to meet at the house of Williams on the next Friday evening. He heard them mention the name 'Kew' several times. When discovered, he was fired at twice, the first ball going through his hat." He escaped, however, and so, it seems, did the conspirators, as nothing more is heard of the business, and George III., who had only just mounted the throne, lived and reigned sixty years after the Peter Childs incident.

Occasionally Hampstead was treated to sudden visitations of floods in the eighteenth century. After a rainstorm the ponds often became surcharged and burst their bounds. It is related that in 1768 a flood of great severity took place, the waters pouring with such force and volume into the Fleet channel that it overflowed its banks and covered the gardens of Bagnigge Wells to the depth of four feet.

Goldsmith was hovering in the neighbourhood of Hampstead in the middle of the eighteenth century. At one time we hear of him in a lodging near Kilburn Priory; at another he is scampering about the Heath with rollicking companions from The Spaniards; then he is celebrating some literary success by entertaining some of his Town friends; anon seeking inspiration on the summit of the Heath for a descriptive poem, in connection with which he writes that there "Nature exhibited a more beautiful prospect" than "anything he had seen in his wanderings abroad."

Much of the eighteenth-century literature catches points of illumination from Hampstead and its life. Miss Burney—"the little Burney," as Dr. Johnson called her—was a frequent visitor, and in her novel *Evelina*, as well as in her Diaries and Journals, affords many informing glimpses of the life and

society of the Hampstead of her day. Her pictures possess a piquancy which is lacking in the more sentimental pages of Richardson. Thus in *Evelina*, the novel which Burke sat up all night to read, she shows her heroine, chaperoned



NO. 32 WELL WALK, 1886, SHOWING ENTRANCE TO GAINSBOROUGH GARDENS WHICH NOW OCCUPY
THE SITE OF THE OLD PUMP ROOM AND GROUNDS.

From a drawing in the Coates Collection.

by her relative Madame Duval, and escorted by Mr. Smith, a forward and unacceptable wooer, in the whirl of the excitement of the Long Room.

The ball was at the Long Room at Hampstead. This room seems very well named, for I believe it would be difficult to find another epithet which might with propriety distinguish it, as it is without ornament, elegance, or any sort of singularity, and merely to be marked by its length.

I was saved from the importunities of Mr. Smith at the beginning of the evening, by Mme. Duval's declaring her intention to dance the first two dances with him herself. Mr. Smith's chagrin was very evident; but as she paid no regard to it, he was necessitated to lead her out.

I was, however, by no means pleased, when she said she was determined to dance a minuet. . . . She had some trouble to make her intentions known, as Mr. Smith was rather averse to speaking to the master of the ceremonies. . . . She danced in a style so uncommon; her age, her showy dress, and an unusual quantity of rouge, drew upon her the eyes and I fear the derision of the whole company. Whom she danced with I know not; but Mr. Smith was so ill-bred as to laugh at her very openly, and to speak of her with as much ridicule as was in his power. . . .



MADAME DUVAL DANCING IN THE LONG ROOM.

From an old engraving.

When she returned to us, she distressed me very much by asking what I thought of her minuet. I spoke as civilly as I could, but the coldness of my compliment evidently disappointed her. She then called upon Mr. Smith to secure a good place among the country dancers; and away they went. . . . For a few moments, I very much rejoiced at being relieved from this troublesome man; but scarce had I time to congratulate myself, before I was accosted by another, who *begged the favour of hopping* a dance with me. I told him that I could not dance at all; but he thought proper to importune me very freely, not to be so cruel; and I was obliged to assume no little haughtiness before I could satisfy him I was serious.

After this, I was addressed in much the same manner, by several other young men, of whom the appearance and language was equally inelegant and low bred; so that I soon found that my situation was both disagreeable and improper, since, as I was quite alone, I fear I

must seem rather to invite than to forbid the offers of notice I received. . . . I knew not whether to be glad or sorry when Mme. Duval and Mr. Smith returned. The latter instantly renewed his tiresome entreaties, and Mme. Duval said she would go to the card table; and as soon as she was accommodated she desired me to join the dancers.

No entreaty prevailed with Evelina, and Mr. Smith at last desisted



WELL WALK.

From an original drawing by T. Hastings, about 1820, in the Bell-Moor Collection.

from importunity, remarking, “in a voice of pique,” while Mme. Duval was “seating herself in the coach,” that the next time he took the trouble to get tickets for a young lady he’d make a bargain beforehand that she shouldn’t turn him over to her grandmother.

This is the best picture that contemporary literature gives us of the general scene on a ball-night at the Hampstead Long Room of the second Wells period.

Another echo of the Long Room comes to us in the preface to the early *Diary of Frances Burney*. Describing the company and amusements at Chesington Hall, after Fanny and Maria Allen, with Jenny Barsomti, had played Cibber's *Careless Husband*, amid "outrageous mirth," it pictures how "Mr. Crisp and Hetty danced a minuet, as Madame Duval and Mr. Smith in Fanny's novel." Again: "Monday night after supper we were all made very merry by Mr. Crisp's suffering his wig to be turn'd the hind part before, and my cap put over it—Hetty's cloak—and Mrs. Gast's apron and ruffles—in this ridiculous trim he danced a minuet with Hetty, personifying *Madame Duval*, while she acted *Mr. Smith*, at the Long Room, Hampstead."

But as the century waned the gaieties of the Long Room lost both their exuberance and their fashionable tone, and the building was frequently devoted to more serious purposes than dancing, card-playing, and flirtation. Public auctions were held there occasionally; there also met the first commissioners for the lighting and watching of Hampstead; and sometimes it was used as a court-house. There were held the chief public gatherings—the dinners of the Loyal Hampstead Association, the venison feasts of the Hampstead Dinner Club, and other meetings and celebrations of many kinds.

Miss Burney's *Diary and Letters* contain several noteworthy items that we must not pass over. On Thursday, June 18, 1792, she accompanied her father "on a visit of three days to Mrs. Crewe at Hampstead." Mrs. Crewe, one of the beauties of the period, a wit, and a political Amazon, was the only daughter of Fulke Greville, and was married to Mr. John Crewe, afterwards the first Lord Crewe. The following description of house and hostess shows all Miss Burney's keen powers of observation:

The villa at Hampstead is small, but commodious. We were received by Mrs. Crewe with much kindness. The room was rather dark, and she had a veil to her bonnet, half down, and with this aid she looked still in a full blaze of beauty. I was wholly astonished. Her bloom, perfectly natural, is as high as that of Augusta Lock when in her best looks, and the form of her face is so exquisitely perfect that my eye never met it without fresh admiration. . . . She uglifies everything near her.

The diarist then relates an interesting meeting with Burke in the Hampstead drawing-room:

Soon after entered Mr. Burke, Miss F——, a niece, and Mr. Richard Burke, the comic, humorous, bold, queer brother of *the* Mr. Burke, who, they said, was coming with Mr. Elliot. The Burke family were invited by Mrs. Crewe to meet us.

At length Mr. Burke appeared, accompanied by Mr. Elliot.

He shook hands with my father as soon as he had paid his devoirs to Mrs. Crewe, but he returned my courtesy with so distant a bow, that I concluded myself quite lost with him . . . but I felt infinitely grieved to lose the favour of a man whom, in all other articles, I so much venerate, and whom, indeed, I esteem and admire as the very first man of true genius now living in this country.

Mrs. Crewe introduced me to Mr. Elliot. . . .

The moment I was named, to my great joy I found Mr. Burke had not recollected me. He is more near-sighted, considerably, than myself. "Miss Burney!" he now exclaimed, coming forward and quite kindly taking my hand, "I did not see you"; and then he spoke very sweet words of the meeting, and my looking far better than "while I was a courtier," and how he rejoiced that I "so little suited that station."



FANNY BURNEY WHEN MADAME D'ARBLAY.

This has reference to the fact that Miss Burney had lately relinquished her position at Court; she had been Dresser to the Queen. Mrs. Crewe gave way for Burke, who came and sat beside the novelist, and the two held an animated conversation, which was so agreeable to Miss Burney that she "soon felt the whole of her first enthusiasm return, and with it a sensation of pleasure that made the day delicious." At dinner she sat next to Burke, and much of what passed between them is related. The long descriptive entry of June 18, 1792, closes with an account of a party held in Mrs. Crewe's drawing-room.

Another entry in Miss Burney's Diary brings us into touch with what was

the most remarkable Hampstead person of the eighteenth century—Lord Mansfield.

Mrs. Crewe took my father and myself to see the Hampstead lions. We went to Caen Wood, to see the house and pictures. Poor Lord Mansfield has not been downstairs, the housekeeper told us, for the last four years; yet she asserts he is by no means superannuated, and frequently sees his very intimate friends, and seldom refuses to be consulted by any lawyers. He was particularly connected with my revered Mrs. Delany, and I felt melancholy upon entering his house to recollect how often that beloved lady had planned carrying thither Miss



SOUTH VIEW OF KEN WOOD.

From an engraving by W. Lowry in the Coates Collection.

P—— and myself, and how often we had been invited by Miss Murrays, my Lord's nieces. I asked after those ladies and left them my respects. I heard they were upstairs with Lord Mansfield, whom they never left.

Many things in this house were interesting, because historical; but I fancy the pictures, at least, not to have much other recommendation. A portrait of Pope, by himself, I thought extremely curious. It is very much in the style of Jervas's paintings.

Miss Burney was misinformed as to this, it would appear, the portrait in question being Jervas's own work, although Jervas did instruct Pope in painting to some extent. The Diary continues:

They told us that, after the burning of Lord Mansfield's house in town, at the time of Lord G. Gordon's riots, thousands came to inquire if this original portrait was preserved. Luckily it was at Caen Wood.

We spent a good deal of time in the library, and saw first editions of almost all Queen Anne's Classics; and lists of subscribers to Pope's *Iliad*, and many such matters, all enlivening to some corner or other of the memory.

We then drove through Lord Southampton's park, and some other beautiful grounds in the neighbourhood.

Mrs. Crewe's house at Hampstead was the scene of many notable gatherings. Her husband did not count for much, except as a dogged supporter of the Whigs and a dutiful slave to the ambitions of his brilliant and beautiful wife; and yet one of her intimate friends, writing of her in 1794, described her as having "grown to see that Mr. Crewe's dry, laconic sense was worth all her sentimental ideas," and as looking up to his opinions and adopting them with a degree of satisfaction that rejoiced her friend.¹ Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Canning, Sir Joshua Reynolds (who painted three portraits of Mrs. Crewe), Horace Walpole, Nathaniel Wraxall, and many other political and social leaders of the time were in the intimate circle of her friends, and wherever she held her court—whether at her pretty Hampstead villa, at Crewe Hall in Cheshire, or at her Town house, in Lower Grosvenor Street—they attended to do her homage. A certain laxity of manners still prevailed in English society, and Mrs. Crewe took as full advantage of this as was possible without actually compromising her honour. She flirted with Sheridan, who dedicated his *School for Scandal* to her, and drew some scandal upon himself thereby; and she exercised such power over Fox that the great Whig statesman himself invoked the Muses in her praise on one occasion. The first stanza may be quoted as a sample of the whole:

Where the loveliest expression to feature is joined,
By Nature's most delicate pencil design'd,
Where Blushes unbidden, and Smiles without Art,
Speak the sweetness and feeling that dwell in the heart;
Where in Manners enchanting no Blemish we trace,
But the Soul keeps the promise we had from the Face,
Sure Philosophy, Reason, and Coldness must prove
Defences unequal to shield us from Love.

To what lengths these adulations might have driven their victims it is hard to say; but the lady herself seems always to have been able to save the situation when things became at all dangerous, as we gather from what Mrs. Piozzi, a

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, 1745-1826, vol. ii. p. 113.

lady by no means given to sparing the weaknesses of her sex, wrote to a friend. "Fox preferred Mrs. (now Lady) Crewe to all women living, but Lady Crewe never lost an atom of character—I mean female honour." All who knew her agreed on this; most admired her; even the correspondent already quoted acknowledged that her namby-pamby life had in no degree influenced her character, but that she was "the same honourable, generous-minded creature, fair to all parties, to all sets, firm to old friends though out of fashion, laughing at the follies of the world, but still giving them a value from habit which her sense disowns."

There is an interesting story in which Mrs. Crewe and the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) were the chief personages. At an entertainment given by the Prince at Carlton House to celebrate Fox's victory in 1784—the Prince having declared for the Whigs, in opposition to his father—there was a splendid gathering. All the guests, and the Prince himself, were dressed in the party colours, buff and blue, and his Royal Highness—then a handsome young man of twenty-two—in proposing the toast of the evening, exclaimed

Buff and blue
And Mrs. Crewe,

and before the cheering that this had evoked had subsided, up sprang Mrs. Crewe, with dainty *aplomb*, and, after a loyal curtsy, answered,

Buff and blue
And all of you,

which was the signal for a burst of still heartier applause.

In the days when Mrs. Crewe lived at Hampstead the village had settled down into quite a distinguished kind of existence. The Wells maintained the pleasant fiction of the "medicinal waters," and a goodly company of water-drinkers, pleasure-seekers, and residents was always there. Some of the old Georgian houses are still to be seen scattered about on the hill-side or on the heights, reviving in many instances memories of architectural picturesqueness and distinction, eloquent of a period that contained not a little of what was beautiful in the midst of much that was mean.

CHAPTER XIII

IN MID-GEORGIAN TIMES

The Wells again—Parish Church rebuilt—Church Row—Mrs. Barbauld—The Barbaulds leave Hampstead—George Steevens—Steevens's Shakespeare—A Hustling Editor—Steevens's Eccentricity—Steevens and his Portraits—Death of Steevens—Bishop Butler—The Bishop's Stained Glass—French Refugees—Abbé Morel—Holly Place Chapel—Distinguished French Visitors—Dinner Club—Eminent Diners—Some Curious Bets—Dinner Patriots—A Dramatic Dissolution—The Waters again—The Goodwin Glamour—A Martyr to Science—Descriptions and Prescriptions—Neutral Saline Springs—Disillusion.



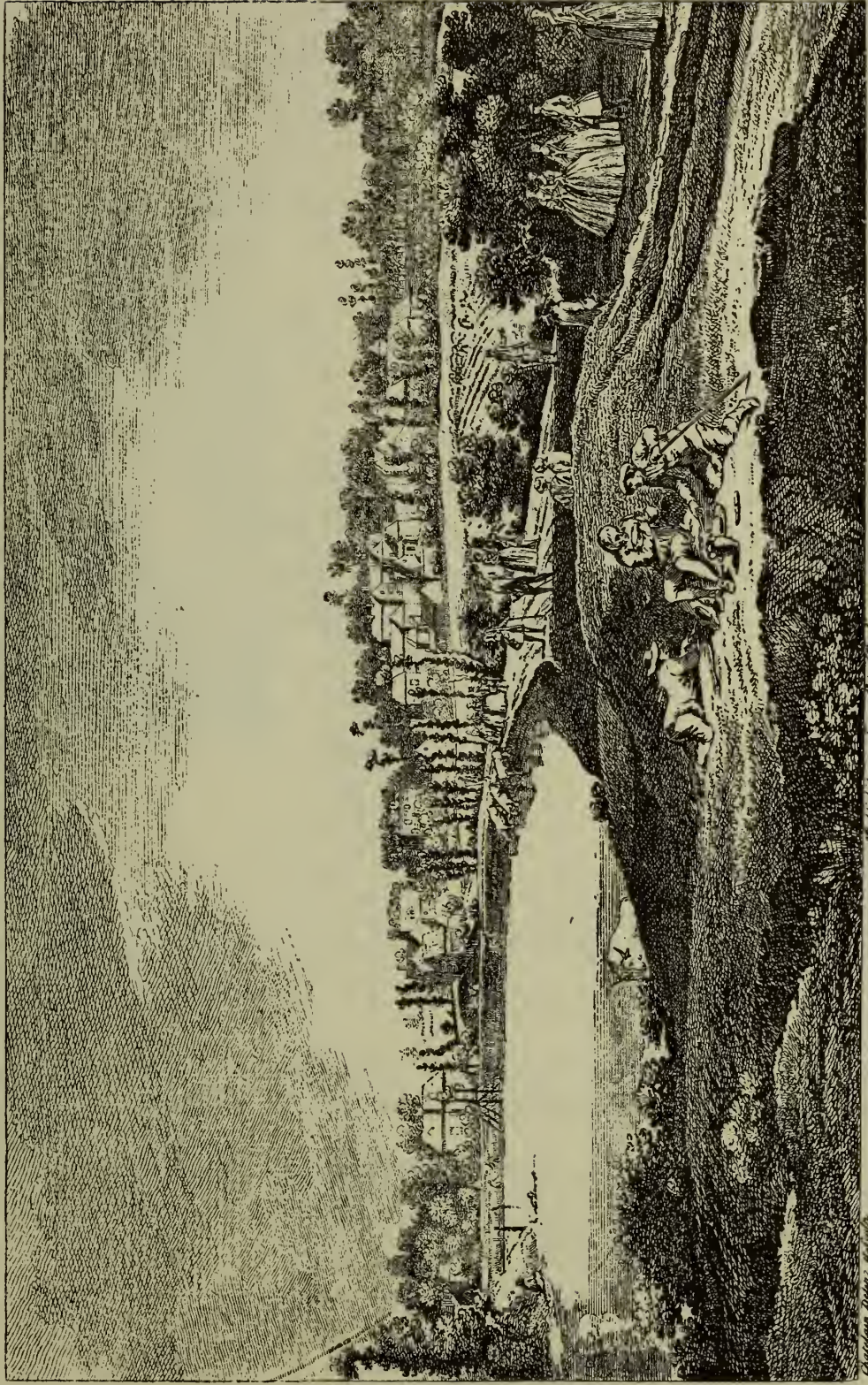
URING the latter part of the eighteenth century Hampstead discarded most of the fashionable frivolities which had distinguished it while yet it was resorted to as a watering-place. Becoming more strictly residential, it began in a special manner to attract within its healthful and beautiful borders poets, prose-writers, and painters, in whose works many aspects of its natural loveliness have been perpetuated.

The Well Walk and the Wells were still there ; but the "waters" were not in much demand. In 1755 the lord of the manor, the Rev. John Maryon, granted a licence to the Wells trustees authorising a lease by them to John Mitchell of "all houses, edifices, buildings and water appurtenances (except the pond or spring in the occupation of John Vincent the younger¹)." In 1761 the Wells property was in the possession of Mr. Simmonds,² who lived in a cottage in Well Road and let the public rooms ; and in subsequent years there were other various lettings and sub-lettings of the Long Room and the Assembly Rooms. Nevertheless, all attempts to revive the glories of the Wells were in vain.

Meanwhile, in 1747, a new church had been built on the site of the old

¹ The proprietor of the Hampstead Brewery, in High Street, which was supplied with water from this pond.

² See *ante*, p. 264.



A View of Hampstead from the Pond. | Vue de Hampstead du Côté du Bassin.
 London. Printed for & sold by C. Dacey & Co. in Aldermary Church Yard.

one, and somewhere about the same period most of the houses in Church Row were erected. It had for a long time been complained that the church was inadequate to the needs of the parish. A petition of the inhabitants on this matter set forth that divine worship was not possible in the church without hazard to life, and appealed for a larger building on the ground that



NO. 2 CHURCH ROW, 1898, SINCE PULLED DOWN.¹

From a drawing by H. Lawrence Christie.

“Hampstead being a place of great resort, especially in the summer season,” the old church was not capable of accommodating half of “the parishioners and others” who would fain attend.

Dr. Gilbert, Bishop of Llandaff, consecrated the new church in October 1747, and this locality came to be looked upon as the “quality” region. A promenade in Church Row was akin to a walk in the Mall of St. James’s Park.

¹ Gardnor Mansions now occupy the site of this and other houses.

All the "somebodies" of Hampstead, residents and visitors, congregated there, and the Church Row houses¹ were regarded as distinguished dwellings. Most of the people who lived in them were well-to-do merchants and professional men from the city, including several traders with the Orient, men who knew the Levant and the Indies. There were extensive gardens attached to the houses, and these were continued until a much later period. Thomas Park and his son, John James Park, the historian, lived here for a number of years, the father's residence extending from about 1805 until 1834. Thomas refers to his Church Row garden, in a poetic "Apology" for it, in a volume published by him in 1818. He says :

The jessamine, sweet-brier, woodbine, and rose,
Are all that the West of my garden bestows ;
And all on the east, that I have or desire
Are the woodbine and jessamine, blush-rose, and brier ;
For variety little could add to the scent,
And the eye wants no change where the heart is content.²

It was to Church Row that the Barbaulds came to live in 1785. The house is now numbered 8, and is on the right-hand side of the road proceeding towards the church. Mrs. Barbauld was already a writer of some standing, having published a volume of poems a dozen years earlier, followed by other works, some in prose and some in verse, that were more than well received. The goodness and the sincerity of Mrs. Barbauld's life seem to have been happily reflected in her writings. Her husband, Mr. Rochemont Barbauld, the descendant of a Huguenot family, had been appointed to the charge of the little Unitarian congregation at Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, and the two eked out what would otherwise have been but a slender income by taking pupils, having previously achieved success in scholastic work at Palgrave, near Diss, where they had kept a boarding-school in which they had taught many youths who afterwards rose to eminence, among them Thomas Denman, who became Lord Denman ; William Gell, later Sir William Gell, the famous antiquary ; and two sons of Lord Templetown. So in Church Row, Mr. Barbauld had his class of young men, and Mrs. Barbauld her class of young ladies ; he filling up the intervals by preaching, she by literary work.

There exists, in a letter by Mrs. Barbauld to her brother Dr. Aikin, written shortly after the Barbaulds had settled in Hampstead, a little sketch of the village, and some of its natural and human features, which is worth

¹ See Appendix VIII., "Notes on Church Row, Hampstead," by Mr. William Woodward, F.R.I.B.A.

² *Morning Thoughts and Midnight Musings*, 1818, p. 72.

CHURCH ROW, HAMPSTEAD.

(1910.)

*From a Water-Colour Drawing
by A. R. QUINTON.*

In the Bell-Moor Collection.



ARQUNTON

quoting if only for the sake of the feminine touches that no other contemporary chronicler has vouchsafed us. She wrote :

Hampstead is certainly the pleasantest village about London. The mall of the place, a kind of terrace, which they call Prospect Walk,¹ commands a most extensive and varied view over Middlesex and Berkshire, in which is included, besides many inferior places, the majestic Windsor and lofty Harrow, which last is so conspicuously placed that you know King James called it "God's visible Church upon Earth." Hampstead and Highgate are mutually objects



CHURCH ROW, HAMPSTEAD, LOOKING TOWARDS LITTLE CHURCH ROW, SHOWING ORIEL HOUSE.

From a drawing by H. Lawes made in 1886. From the Coates Collection.

to each other, and the road between them is delightfully pleasant, lying along Lord Mansfield's fine woods, and the Earl of Southampton's *ferme ornée*. Lady Mansfield and Lady Southampton, I am told, are both admirable dairywomen, and so jealous of each other's fame in that particular, that they have had many heart-burnings, and have, once or twice, been very near a serious falling out over the dispute which of them could make the greatest quantity of butter from such a number of cows. On observing the beautiful smoothness of the turf in some of the fields about this place, I was told the gentlemen to whom they belonged had them rolled like a garden plot.

As we have no house, we are not visited, except by those with whom we have connections,

¹ Now called Judges' Walk.

but, few as they are, they have filled our time with a continual round of company, we have not been six days alone. This is a matter I do not altogether wish, for they make very long tea-drinking afternoons, and a whole long afternoon is really a piece of life. However, they are very kind and civil. I am trying to get a little company in a more improving way, and have made a party with a young lady to read Italian together.

I pity the young ladies of Hampstead, there are several very agreeable ones. One gentleman has five tall marriageable daughters, and not a single young man is to be seen in the place, but of widows and old maids such a plenty.

It was here that Mrs. Barbauld wrote her contributions to that once highly treasured book for children, *Evenings at Home*, for which her brother (Dr. Aikin) and herself were responsible. Here her pen was eloquently exerted in the anti-slavery cause, her poem to Wilberforce, on the first rejection of his bill, rendering acceptable service to the movement; she also seems while at Hampstead to have taken part in several semi-political controversies. It was in this house in Church Row, as Howitt relates, that a young Spaniard, whom the Barbaulds took to live with them in 1787, surprised Mrs. Barbauld by smoking what she called "seguars." "He is quite a man," she wrote in her simplicity, "of one or two-and-twenty, and rather looks like a Dutchman than a Spaniard. Did you ever see seguars—tobacco-leaf rolled up of the length of one's finger, which they light and smoke without a pipe? He uses them. And how does Mr. Barbauld bear that? say you. O! the Don keeps it snug in his own room."

To the literary men of her time, and to her neighbours at Hampstead, Mrs. Barbauld was a gracious personality. Warm praise of her writings and her own worth was bestowed by Fox, Garrick, Dr. Johnson, Wordsworth, and Crabb Robinson.

The Barbaulds spent the last year or so of their residence in Hampstead at Heddon House,¹ on the west side of Rosslyn Hill. Mrs. Barbauld must have regretted having to quit Hampstead, where, on the whole, she had been happy; the failing health of her husband, and the subsequent necessity of being near Dr. Aikin, who was then living at Stoke Newington, obliged her to leave. "We are on the point of leaving this charming spot," she wrote to Dr. Parr, on March 29, 1802, "in order to remove to Stoke Newington, thus exchanging the beauties of nature for the pleasures of the heart and mind—for the advantage, I mean, of living close to Dr. Aikin." Often has mention been made of Mrs. Barbauld's classic lines on "Life"

¹ This house formerly stood at the north-west corner of Shepherd's Walk; the large chestnut tree in the front garden, luxuriant in her time, still flourishes.

which are to be found in most British anthologies, and any record of her career that omits them must fail to do full justice to her genius. Rogers, in his *Table Talk*, mentions that, sitting one day with Madame d'Arblay (Fanny Burney), he said to her, "Do you remember those lines



MRS. BARBAULD.

From a contemporary engraving.

of Mrs. Barbauld's on Life which I once repeated to you?" "Remember them!" said she. "I repeat them to myself every night before I go to sleep." Crabb Robinson makes a deeply interesting reference to the final stanza of the poem: "It had delighted my sister, to whom I repeated it on her death-bed. It was long after I gave these works to Miss Wordsworth that her

brother said, 'Repeat me that stanza by Mrs. Barbauld.' I did so. He made me repeat it again. And so he learned it by heart. He was at the time walking in his sitting-room at Rydal, with his hands behind him, and I heard him mutter to himself, 'I am not in the habit of grudging people their good things, but I wish I had written those lines.' They were not composed at Hampstead, however; but at Stoke Newington, when the author was very old. The concluding lines are known to all readers of poetry, but the whole poem needs to be read to get the full significance of the familiar closing verse, and for that reason I here give the poem in its entirety:

Life! I know not what thou art,
 But know that thou and I must part;
 And when, or how, or where we met
 I own to me's a secret yet.
 But this I know when thou art fled,
 Where'er they lay these limbs, this head,
 No clod so valueless shall be,
 As all that then remains of me.
 O whither, whither dost thou fly,
 Where bend unseen thy trackless course,
 And in this strange divorce,
 Ah, tell where I must seek this compound I?

To the vast ocean of empyreal flame,
 From whence thy essence came,
 Dost thou thy flight pursue, when freed
 From matter's base encumbering weed?
 Or dost thou, hid from sight,
 Wait, like some spell-bound knight,
 Through blank oblivious years th' appointed hour,
 To break thy trance and reassume thy power?
 Yet can'st thou without thought or feeling be?
 O say what art thou, when no more thou'rt Thee.

Life, we've been long together,
 Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
 'Tis hard to part when friends are dear,
 Perhaps 'twill cause a sigh, a tear;
 Then steal away, give little warning,
 Choose thine own time;
 Say not "Good-night!" but in some brighter clime
 Bid me "Good-morning!"

Mrs. Barbauld lived until 1825, when she had reached the age of eighty-two. As Canon Ainger said of her, "In an age of frivolity and dissipation in high life, she set up noble standards and lived by them herself,

Hampstead March 6 1774

My dear Sir

*Many thanks both for your
suffrage and your congratulations,
for they are equally honourable to me.
I shall not fail to join the club on
Friday evening. Dr Johnson desires
I will call on him, & he will introduce
me. — Pray what is the usual
time of meeting? I am, Dear Sir,
your most obliged & faithful
Steevens*



THE RESIDENCE OF GEORGE STEEVENS, F.R.S., HAMPSTEAD HEATH, FORMERLY THE UPPER FLASK, WHERE
THE KIT-CAT CLUB HELD ITS SUMMER MEETINGS.

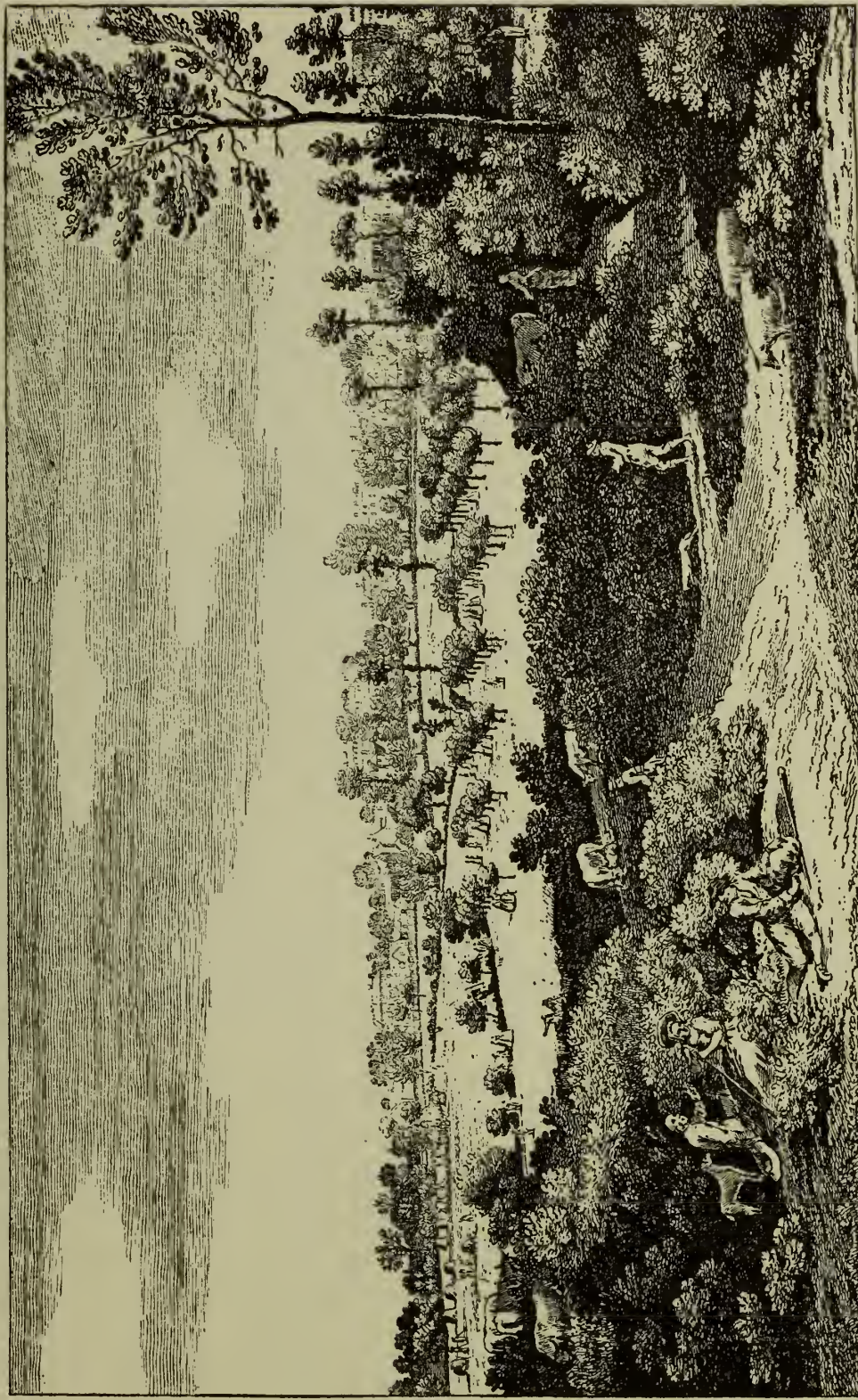
From an engraving by C. J. Smith after a drawing by J. T. Smith, originally published in *Johnsoniana*.

and more than one generation of children has had reason to call her blessed.”

During the last twenty years of the eighteenth century George Steevens, the commentator on Shakespeare, to whom I have already referred,¹ lived in the house which had formerly been The Upper Flask, buying the building and converting it, at a cost of £2000, into a handsome private mansion, opening out on a garden with "velvet lawns of perfect turf," bordered by sycamores, elms, and acacias, and abounding in roses and other beautiful flowers. This house is now called Upper Heath, and is numbered in these utilitarian days 124 Heath Street. "Shakespeare Steevens" (as he was called) had inherited an ample fortune from his father, who was for many years connected with the East India Company. The commentator, though an eccentric character, was a man of university education and considerable culture. Few men were more learned in Elizabethan literature, of which he had a most extensive collection, and from early manhood he had been an enthusiast in all that concerned Shakespeare, ultimately giving himself up almost exclusively to the study of the poet. The result of his labours was an edition which is still highly valued. He published five editions in all, the first in four octavo volumes, produced in 1766, when he was about thirty years old, in the bringing out of which he received some help from Dr. Johnson, whose own edition of Shakespeare had appeared only the year before. The second, and more complete edition, known by the name of the Johnson and Steevens edition, was published in ten volumes, 8vo, in the year 1773, further editions being issued in 1778 and 1785. On his splendid edition of 1793, in fifteen volumes, Steevens brought to bear the fulness of his ripper study, assisted by his friend Isaac Reed, and this is the edition that collectors prize the most. He got it through the press in the short period of eighteen months, himself seeing to all the details of printing, proof-correcting, and publishing.

Steevens did not associate much with his neighbours, but lived in his later years the life of a learned recluse, few visitors being admitted within his doors. He was a bachelor, his house being kept by his cousin Mrs. Collinson and her daughters. Queer stories were whispered about among the villagers as to the "mysterious doings" and "strange noises and deep groans" heard at midnight in the big house; but probably there was nothing worse behind these reports than the frequent ebullitions of a violent temper. The one glimpse of bright relief that we get out of the rather mean story of Steevens's life is that already referred to, and which all his biographers dwell upon with satisfaction, the vision of him trudging to London every morning from Hampstead with the

¹ *Ante*, p. 260.



Chateau de la Roche.

Published according to the original drawing - 1752.

View of Hampstead from the Heath near the Chapel. | View de Hampstead du Côté de la Colline, près de la Chapelle.

London: Printed for W. Dickey and Co. in Aldermanbury Church Yard.

manuscript or the proofs he had prepared overnight; setting out always at the same hour with the patrol, in all weathers, winter and summer, for eighteen months, and walking to Town. Arrived in London, Steevens used to proceed to the chambers of his friend, Mr. Isaac Reed, in Staple Inn, having



JOHN THOMAS SMITH.

Author of Nollekens and His Times, A Book for a Rainy Day, etc.

From an engraving by William Skelton after the drawing by John Jackson, R.A.

a key whereby he could admit himself, and there he resumed his work until time to go to the printer's. After his interview with the printer he regularly called on his friend Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, to present a nosegay which he had carried on the top of his cane from Hampstead.

Steevens's eccentricity and vanity helped to prolong his personal fame. There is a story told by Miss Hawkins, daughter of Sir John Hawkins, author of a *History of Music*, about her father turning the commentator out of his house after convicting him of having uttered some slanderous statements which had had the effect of temporarily estranging Garrick, Murphy, and others from the Doctor. According to Miss Hawkins, there was much to disapprove in Steevens's moral character, much to admire in his conversational power and his love of the sublime and beautiful, much to detest in his vanity and affectation, and much that was amusing in his sensitiveness to ridicule. I need not repeat the instances she cites. A less-known anecdote of the annotator's eccentricity may be given from John Thomas Smith's *Nollekens and His Times* :

Steevens early in life was rather conceited of his person, and had a miniature of himself beautifully painted by the celebrated Meyer, the enameller and R.A. He also stood, being fond of private theatricals, in which he often took a part, for a whole-length portrait in oils in the character of Barbarossa. Zoffany likewise painted a picture of him in oil, with a favourite dog, which has been engraven for Boydell for his edition of Shakspeare.¹ Fond as he was of having his portrait taken early in life, in his latter days he not only refused to sit, but actually took the greatest pains to destroy every resemblance of his features, and never suffered himself to remain in the company of an artist for any length of time, lest he should steal his likeness. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, he was seriously annoyed by receiving an impression of an etching of his face, though not a very good likeness, taken by stealth by Sayer, the caricaturist, at which liberty Steevens was so highly exasperated that he threatened to "cane the fellow"—a mode of chastisement which, with a raised arm and a clenched fist, he often declared he would inflict upon most of those persons who offended him. Steevens, who had certainly remarkably handsome legs, which he generally covered with white stockings, would frequently pique himself upon having walked from his house at Hampstead, half over London and back, without receiving a speck of dirt upon them.

Steevens must have soured considerably in his later years. After the first edition of his Shakespeare was published, we hear of him and Dr. Johnson going to the "Marybone Gardens" together to see the fireworks, and entering into the spirit of the entertainment with a good deal of vivacity. The only entertainments he permitted himself to see after his editing days were such as were occasionally given at Hampstead by a company of strolling players; he always turned out to see them, and on their leaving loaded them with presents of clothes. We may gather some idea of the kind of dramatic entertainment these strolling players gave from an extant playbill referring to certain performances which took place at Tottenham Court, in the adjoining parish of St. Pancras, in 1728, before Steevens's time. It is in these terms :

¹ Reproduced on p. 261.

At Lee's and Petit's great Theatrical Booth, leading up to Hampstead, during the Time of Tottenham Court FAIR, will be presented that diverting DROLL, called, the true and ancient History of

MAUDLIN, the Merchant's Daughter of Bristol ;

AND

Her constant Lover ANTONIO

with the comical Humours of

ROGER, *Antonio's* Man,

And Variety of Singing and Dancing between the Acts, by Mr. Sandham, Mrs. Woodward, and Miss Sandham.

Particularly the friendly Lasses by Mrs. Woodward and Miss Sandham,

The black and white Jouk by Mr. Woodward and Mrs. Woodward,

And a Hornpipe by Mr. Taylor.

The parts to be performed by Persons from the THEATRES.

Another reminiscence of the old strolling days is recalled by a playbill in the Bell-Moor Collection, reproduced in chapter xxix. vol. iii., the date of which is January 5, 1807. It announces "a celebrated new comedy" called *Five Miles Off, or The Finger Post*, the performance being by "His Majesty's Servants" for "the Benefit of Mr. Jackman," the part of Kalendar by "a gentleman from London (his first appearance on this stage)," who was to sing "Fawcett's much-admired song of the Almanack Maker." The comedy was to be followed by a pantomime, concluding with a Grand View of the Sea Fight at Cape Trafalgar and Lord Nelson's Splendid Victory over France and Spain, with Real Ships." In this we also have a locality named—"near the Square, Hampstead"—and may assume that this was the usual "stand" for the wandering players, "from London" or elsewhere, who ventured from time to time to halt their Thespian car at Hampstead.¹

It was probably his sympathy with the stage that caused Steevens in his early days in Hampstead to champion the not very just cause of Mrs. Lessingham, the actress, when that lady built herself a villa, now known as "Heath Lodge," on some three acres of the common land on the border of the Heath, in defiance of the law and of popular opinion. Steevens, who had a neat turn for satirical verse, squibs, and lampoons, probably did the lady some service in her fight, and at the same time separated himself further from the good opinion of the villagers generally. He died at Hampstead on January 22, 1800, and was buried in the East India Company's chapel at

¹ Another scarce playbill is in the possession of Mr. E. E. Newton, and is dated "October 31, 1805, and following evenings," announcing performances at "Gyngell's Theatre of Mirth and Mechanism," at Hampstead Square." The proprietor thanks the inhabitants of Hampstead for their long-continued patronage. Gyngell attended West End Fair, and also the Fairs of St. Bartholomew, Dulwich, Camberwell, Edmonton, etc.

Poplar. A white marble monument by Flaxman representing the subject of it placidly gazing upon a bust of Shakespeare, and an epitaph by Hayley, Romney's friend, adorn his tomb. The main portion of his property was left to his niece, Miss Steevens, who died at Hampstead. The wife of Steevens's gardener, after their master's death, told Nollekens that "no



MRS. LESSINGHAM IN THE CHARACTER OF ORIANA.

From a contemporary print.

creature on earth could be more afraid of death than Steevens; on the day of his decease he came into the kitchen, when she and her husband were sitting at dinner, snatched at their pudding, and ate most voraciously, at the same time defying the *grinning monster* in the most terrific language."

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century Bishop Butler, author of *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Course and Constitution of Nature*, owned and occupied Vane House. He was perhaps the

greatest churchman of his century, a man of deep learning and sincere piety, and his Hampstead home was well adapted to his studious habits and bachelor requirements. It was convenient for him, too, in his Parliamentary duties, and in intercourse with his intimate friend, Secker, who had been a fellow-student, and afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Here at Vane House, surrounded by his books, and enshrined as it were within



GEORGE STEEVENS, ESQ.

Bas-relief from the monument by Flaxman in Poplar Chapel. From the drawing by R. Smirke, engraved by H. Moses.

a sanctuary of stained glass, of which he was a great collector, the good Bishop passed his hours of leisure. "The bishop (Secker) is in residence in St. Paul's all this month," wrote Miss Talbot to Mrs. Carter on February 29, 1751, "and dines with the Bishop of Durham every day." A few weeks later the same correspondent wrote: "In the afternoon at Hampstead, where we dined with the Bishop of Durham, in a most enchanting, gay, pretty, elegant house, that he has made there."

The stained glass which Bishop Butler introduced into Vane House was of great beauty and value. Some of it was ancient, with Latin inscriptions. This, according to local tradition, had been presented to him by the Pope, and was a plain indication that the Bishop was a Papist. There is no reason to doubt, however, that it was the artistic more than the religious sentiment of the work that appealed to the author of *The Analogy*. Many



JOSEPH BUTLER, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

From an original painting by Taylor, reproduced by permission of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.

of the windows were decorated with this stained glass, the subjects being mainly scriptural, and beautifully executed, with inscriptions in Old English characters, of the date 1571. There were figures of the Apostles, and one circular painting of St. Paul—seated and surrounded by rich Gothic sculpture—bearing the inscription, “Sigillum Com̄une Decani et Capitu’ Ec’lie Pauli, Londin.” The modern pieces were chiefly oval landscapes of inferior merit. All the pieces were enclosed in stained-glass borders fitted to the size of the panes.

The whole of the floor of the upper story was used as the Bishop's library, and the antique character of decoration was maintained throughout. There were tapestries to match the stained glass, carved staircases and rich recesses, all tending to a sort of spiritual gloom. On the death of the Bishop, in 1752, the property was sold in accordance with the directions in his will. What became of the more valuable portions of the stained glass is not known. Some of the continued series, however, was



SIDE VIEW OF VANE HOUSE IN 1853.

From an original drawing by Sir R. Palgrave.

presented by Mr. Tarbutt, a later tenant of a part of Vane House—which was divided into two at the Bishop's death—to Oriel College, Oxford, Butler's *alma mater*. The varied character of the subjects caused difficulty in finding a suitable place for it; but after some delay it was ultimately introduced into an oriel window in a room in the tower over the entrance to the college.

Dr. Butler enjoyed the valuable see of Durham for a little under two years before his death; during the previous years of his residence at

Hampstead he had held the poorer see of Bristol, expending, it is said, more than the whole revenue of the bishopric in maintaining the episcopal palace. It is worth while adding that he gave express instructions to his executors to burn all his "sermons, letters and papers whatever" deposited in a deal box directed to his chaplain, Dr. Forester, and then standing in his "library at Hampstead."

It is worthy of record here that Mr. Gladstone, shortly before his death, composed an inscription for the memorial stone since placed in Durham Cathedral in honour of Butler, in these words :

SURPASSED BY NONE
WHETHER ON THE LONG LINE OF BISHOPS OF THE SEE
OR AMONG THE
CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHERS OF ENGLAND
ADAPTING THE TONE OF HIS LANGUAGE
TO THE EXIGENCIES OF HIS HOLY CAUSE
HE COULD USE A SEVERE SELF-RESTRAINT
BUT COULD ALSO RISE
TO THE HEIGHTS OF A FERVID DEVOTION
HIS CHARACTERISTIC STRENGTH LAY
IN A HABIT PROFOUNDLY MEDITATIVE
IN THE PROPORTION AND MEASURE OF HIS THOUGHT
IN SEARCHING MENTAL VISION
IN THE CONCENTRATION OF A LIFE
AND IN HUMBLE UNSWERVING LOYALTY TO TRUTH.

W. E. G., *September 23, 1897.*

Towards the end of the eighteenth century another interesting religious association came into the life of Hampstead, in a very modest and unassertive way, as one of the minor overflows from the French Revolution. Among the priestly refugees from France was a certain Abbé Morel, who had been connected with the Grand Seminary at Bourges. He was attracted to Hampstead by the fact of there being several French families living there—Talleyrand among the rest, some say—exiles like himself, to whom the question of religious worship according to their own faith was becoming a matter of difficulty. The Abbé was sincerely welcomed by his compatriots, and, in 1796, at Oriel House,¹ Church Row, he began a series of Roman Catholic services which were destined to have considerable influence. His ministrations were carried on for a few years in this quiet way, and every year he became more firmly attached to Hampstead, making many friends,

¹ Pulled down for "Town Improvements," 1886.

and, by his pastorate and by teaching French, contriving to gain a sufficient income for his humble requirements. He was put to a severe ordeal when, the Revolution having come to an end, it became possible for the refugees to go back to their native country. Most of the little congregation for which he had been officiating returned. He would fain have gone with them; but in Hampstead he had found a real haven of rest after the turbulence which had preceded his exile, and had formed many ties with the people of the



ABBÉ MOREL.

Photographed for this work from the painting by Clarkson Stanfield, R.A., in St. Mary's Chapel, Holly Place.

village. He decided to remain, and for many years after that Abbé Morel was a worthy and loved figure in Hampstead.

In 1814 the French Roman Catholics, to whom the Abbé had long preached in their own language, began to take steps to provide a more adequate place of worship than Oriel House. There were by this time many English members of the congregation, and in course of time the services were given in English only. A piece of land was bought in what is now Holly Place, where a small but suitable chapel was ultimately erected, of which Abbé Morel was made priest. In later times, getting into years, he was assisted by the Rev. J. Le Tellier, a man of note among the French emigrant

clergy. The Abbé, after a ministry of fifty-six years, resigned his chaplaincy in 1848. He died four years later, at the age of eighty-six, and was buried in the chapel, where there is a memorial of him. He had lived a holy life, and was greatly respected by all classes of the community, because of his quiet dignity and his keen interest in the affairs of the place and the needs of his people. Clarkson Stanfield was a regular attendant at the Holly Place Chapel in the Abbé's later time, and painted the priest's portrait, which he presented to the Mission. This is reproduced on page 295.

A story is told of two handsomely dressed ladies visiting Hampstead in 1819. They drove in a carriage to the bottom of Holly Hill, and then got



ST. MARY'S CHAPEL, HOLLY PLACE, 1911.

From a drawing by A. R. Quinton in the Bell-Moor Collection.

out and walked to the top; and some time later the Abbé was seen walking down the road bareheaded, respectfully escorting them. As the elder of the two ladies got into the carriage she kissed the Abbé's hand and shed tears. This lady, it was said, was the Duchesse d'Angoulême.¹

There were "cakes and ale" as well as serious matters in those times. Those were the days of the Hampstead Dinner Club, composed of some of the

¹ This is related by Mr. C. E. Maurice in an able and interesting paper on "Abbé Morel and the Holly Place Chapel," read by him to the Hampstead Antiquarian and Historical Society, on March 14, 1900, from which I have extracted some other particulars concerning the Abbé's career. A son of Clarkson Stanfield, a Roman Catholic priest, was for a long time connected with this chapel, and was much beloved by his people.

principal residents, who deemed it well to meet once a month for social intercourse and conviviality. The club was founded in 1784. Its first dinner was in January 1785 in the Long Room. Each member was charged 4s. whether he turned up or not, and five o'clock was "the hour of cause." There was a further obligation in the shape of a shilling contribution from each member to a "poor-box" that was kept by the treasurer, its contents being "distributed amongst the poor of Hampstead in the winter season."

The Dinner Club was a success, and after a time so many people desired membership that it became necessary to limit the number to thirty. When this was done, an annual subscription of 32s. was fixed, and out of this fund the cost of the monthly dinner was defrayed. For some years the Club continued to meet at the Long Room; but later the dinners were held sometimes at the Red Lion Inn, an old hostelry which occupied the site of the present Police Station and was said to date back to the fourteenth century, and sometimes at the still flourishing Bull and Bush, or The Holly Bush.

All through the later Georgian days these gatherings were prominent events in Hampstead. From 1807 the meetings were held in the New Subscription Rooms, afterwards called the Assembly Rooms, Holly Bush Hill, the Club paying an annual rental of thirty guineas to the proprietors of the rooms. The subscription rate was increased at various dates, showing an augmented popularity. In 1799 the annual contribution was £2:2s.; in 1812 it had risen to ten guineas, to "include all the expenses for the year."

We may gather some idea of the nature of these meetings from the records of names of members, and allusions to transactions and incidents, contained in the minutes of the Club, now in the possession of Dr. Herbert Evans, of Seaford (formerly of Hampstead), and set forth in interesting detail in an article contributed to *The Hampstead Annual* for 1898,¹ and from materials gathered from a few other sources, though the particulars are by no means so full as could be wished.

For a year or so the Rev. Erasmus Warren, the vicar, was a member. Other members were Josiah Boydell, painter, engraver, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Hampstead Volunteers, and prospective City Alderman; Abram Robarts, of the well-known city banking-house; John Bowles, presumably a

¹ "The Barmecides," by S. C. M.

relation of William Lisle Bowles the poet, as he was certainly a member of the literary circle which at that time gathered at Mr. Samuel Hoare's Hampstead mansion ; Thomas Longman, of the still famous publishing house ; Lord Chancellor Loughborough ; Richard Pepper Arden, Master of the Rolls ; Sir Thomas Plumer, who also, later, was Master of the Rolls ; Edward Montagu, one of the Masters in Chancery ; Spencer Perceval, afterwards Prime Minister ; Vice-Admiral (afterwards Lord) Gambier, who performed signal service in Howe's "glorious first of June" victory off Ushant ; Richard Richards, afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer ; Lord Chancellor



SIR THOMAS PLUMER, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

From the engraving by H. Robinson after painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.

Erskine ; Thomas Sheppard, M.P. for Frome, who followed George Steevens in the occupancy of Upper Heath (once The Upper Flask) and was conspicuous for adhering to the costume of a preceding period, including the "pig-tail" and the short over-jacket styled a "spencer" ; and Mr. Bogg, who was secretary to the society from its foundation in 1784 until 1810, when, in consideration of his long and faithful services, he was appointed "perpetual vice-president," and asked to "sit for his portrait."

The meetings of the Dinner Club served a very useful purpose, providing a gathering ground for the leading local lights, enabling them to express their views on the questions of the hour, and to encourage patriotic

efforts in times of national trial—for those later Georgian days were days of anxiety and conflict, both abroad and at home. In October 1790, while discussing the probabilities of war, two of the members were prompted to make a bet on the subject, which was thus recorded in the minutes: “Mr. Creed lays a dozen of claret, that there will be war betwixt England and Spain within three months, and Mr. Bowles lays the contrary.” Another entry, somewhat later on, has reference to a local matter, West End Fair, which was at that time giving the magistrates some trouble, because of the rough element which had been introduced into the annual festival. This was the entry: “Mr. Sheppard bets a dozen of claret with Mr. Lavie that there will be no fair at West End.”

Not long before, it may be appropriate to mention here, Mrs. Barbauld, while living in Church Row, celebrated West End Fair in one of the most jocund of her compositions, of which the following is a verse:

And now away for West End Fair,
Where whisky,¹ chariot, coach, and chair
Are all in requisition.
In neat attire the Graces
Behind the counters take their places
And humbly do petition
To dress the booths with flowers and sweets,
As fine as any May day,
Where Charity with Fashion meets
And keeps her play-day.²

The patriotism of the members of the Club was shown in many ways. In 1792 they formed themselves into a committee, of which they appointed Mr. Montagu chairman, for aiding in “the suppressing of riots and in support of the Government.” Revolutionary agitations were causing trouble in various parts of the country, and war with France was imminent. There had been a bad harvest; food was dear, and “bread riots” were frequent. Hampstead, through its loyal Dinner Club, declared itself firmly attached to the King and Constitution, and called upon “all good men and true” to sign their names to a series of resolutions which would be found “lying for that purpose at Thomas Mitchell’s in the High Street.” Certain incidents connected with this committee will be found recorded in Chapter XV.³

A few years later, in 1798, the clubmen’s patriotism took a more jubilant

¹ Not the spirit of that name, but a light gig.

² “West End Fair,” in *The Works of Anna Letitia Barbauld*, by Lucy Aikin, 2 vols., 1825, vol. i. p. 227.

³ Vol. ii. pp. 52, 53.

**C. FRANKLIN,
BIRD-IN-HAND,
HIGH STREET, HAMPSTEAD.**

O yes, O yes, O yes! This is to give Notice, That C. FRANKLIN, of the *Bird-in-Hand*, High Street, Hampstead, having been licensed by his Majesty's Commissioners of Excise to sell Genuine Wines and Spirits, respectfully informs the Inhabitants of Hampstead and its vicinity, that he has laid in an extensive stock of fine-wares, the quality of which cannot be equalled by any house in the trade at the same prices, and to which he invites their particular attention.—God save THE KING!

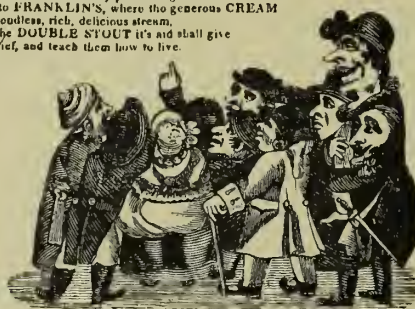


Come, come, my good friends, pray your laughter relax,
For to business you're stuck through the twelfth-month like wax;
But now that old Time has again fill'd his glass,
Let us also fill our's, and help him to pass.
He stops not for pleasure—he waits not for woe,
But onward he hurries, and drinks as he goes;
And while he is pledging the health of the gay,
The pensive he seizes, and carries away.
Then let us against his assault make a stand,
And master our friends at the *BIRD-IN-THE-HAND*,
Where FRANKLIN, our host, has the spirit and skill
To keep him at bay, and to baffle his will.
So be true to yourselves, and, divested of fear,
Have a right merry Christmas and happy New Year.

	PER QTN.
FINE CORDIAL GIN - - - -	3d.
SPLendid CREAMING GIN - - - -	3½d.
OLD JAMAICA RUM - - - -	4½d.
PINE-APPLE RUM - - - -	5d.
OLD COGNAC BRANDY - - - -	10d.

	PER POT
DOUBLE STOUT - - - -	3d.
Sparkling Yarmouth Ale - - - -	4d.

With smiling faces see the merry throng
Leave care behind them as they push along:
They speed to FRANKLIN'S, where the generous CREAM
Flows in an endless, rich, delicious stream,
And where the DOUBLE STOUT it's and shall give
To banish grief, and teach them how to live.



CAPE 1s. 4d., PORT 2s., SHERRY 2s. per Bot.

Compton & Ritchie, Printers, Middle Street, Cloth Fair, London.

CHRISTMAS HANDBILL ISSUED BY THE LANDLORD OF THE BIRD-IN-HAND, HAMPSTEAD, ABOUT 1836.

From the original in the George Potter Collection.

turn. They gave a dinner in celebration of Nelson's victory of the Nile. The Government was represented by the Lord Chancellor (Loughborough), the Master of the Rolls (Arden), and Admiral Gambier (then one of the Lords of the Admiralty); and among the distinguished guests was the Neapolitan Ambassador, a person of note in those days, when the friendship of the Neapolitan court counted for something. It was a great day in Hampstead, no doubt, and the ball for "the ladies of the village" in the evening was, we may be sure, a modish and enjoyable affair.¹ Another occasion for rejoicing occurred in 1809, when the Jubilee of George III. was done full



**C. FRANKLIN,
Wine and Spirit Merchant,
BIRD-IN-HAND,**

High Street, Hampstead,

(BETWEEN HAMILTON AND WOODWARD'S COACH OFFICES).

Copy of a woodcut, printed about 1830, of the lower part of the Bird-in-Hand public-house, High Street, Hampstead, in the Bell-Moor Collection.

justice to by the Dinner Club, which seems to have taken the lead in local public demonstrations. A banquet was provided for "the poor inhabitant householders of the village, and a ball and a supper in the evening to the ladies."

For some forty years the Dinner Club was an institution of considerable local note, and served a useful purpose; but when better roads and rail communication brought London nearer to Hampstead the need for the Club waned. It lingered on in a fashion until July 1859, when its obsequies

¹ In this connection I am glad to be able to give a facsimile reproduction of the Long Room ticket for this patriotic function. See Appendix IX., "Some Gatherings at the Long Room."

were celebrated by a final meeting of a few remaining members. "After a most excellent dinner of turtle, venison, toasted cheese, champagne and seltzer water, and some good rubbers of whist, and amidst thunder and lightning, the Club declared itself dissolved."

As for the Wells during the later Georgian period, the story is one of gradually waning interest. The writer of *London in Miniature* described the Wells as a place "where a Conflux of all Sorts of Company is to be seen in Summer Time; some of which come there for the benefit of the Waters, but the chief part resort thither more for gallantry than any Thing else." The proprietors and the lessees, the doctors and the lodging-house keepers, kept up the struggle for patronage during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but without much success. Then, early in the nineteenth century came the final Goodwin and Bliss efforts to regain favour for Hampstead as a fashionable Spa. The two gentlemen were not quite in accord—in fact, they were deadly rivals—but each aimed at the same object. Their doings are interesting mainly, as in Soame's case, for the pictures and side glimpses they give of Hampstead life in the early nineteenth century.

Both John Bliss and Thomas Goodwin held the qualification of M.R.C.S.; both lived in Hampstead; and both claimed to have discovered special medicinal springs. Dr. Bliss published an analysis of the Hampstead waters in the *London Medical Review and Magazine* in 1802, and afterwards issued a treatise on the subject under the title of *Experiments and Observations on the Medicinal Waters of Hampstead and Kilburn*. Dr. Goodwin's pronouncement, published in 1804, was more elaborate. It consisted of a book of some 120 pages dedicated to "Thomas Keate, Esq., Surgeon to the Queen and Prince of Wales," and entitled *An Account of the Neutral Saline Waters Recently Discovered at Hampstead*. The discovery is thus described: "Having passed the greater part of my life at Hampstead, I was often led, in my frequent walks on the Heath, to inspect the soil where labourers were digging for gravel, sand, loam, etc., and having long observed the variety of strata in different parts of the village, was irresistibly led to conclude, that Purgative Springs might possibly exist as well as Chalybeate, and knowing that nature has lavished her beauties on some favoured tracts of ground, and that considerable benefit might result to the community from the discovery of such waters, I made it my constant practice, for years, to taste every water I met with, whether in fosses about the Heath, reservoirs in yards, pumps in gardens,

houses, etc., and found some of various tastes and qualities that had certain effects upon the health and spirits, but none that were sufficiently impregnated to be recommended to public notice (excepting chalybeates) until I discovered the Neutral Saline Springs, now under consideration, at the south-east extremity of the Heath near Pond-street." The doctor referred with indignation to an attempt which had been made to "anticipate him," saying that while his manuscript had been in the hands of some people in London his



COTTAGES IN EAST HEATH ROAD AND SQUIRE'S MOUNT, ABOUT 1840.¹

From a lithograph by G. Childs.

plans had been "unguardedly exposed" and taken advantage of. This was obviously meant for Dr. Bliss, who does not seem to have made any printed retaliation.

Dr. Goodwin was in desperate earnest, and must have gone to much trouble to spread the fame of his "discovery." He declared that he had visited all the places in England where medicinal waters were to be found,

¹ On p. 199, vol. ii., appears a modern view of the row of cottages on the right of the above illustration; and in chapter xxix. of vol. iii. is a recent view of the cottages to the extreme left of the above picture.

and assured the public that the saline waters at Hampstead had "an affinity to the Saline Spa at Cheltenham, to which his Majesty resorted, by the advice of his physician the late Sir George Baker, in the summer of 1788." Here was a master-stroke that foreshadowed royal patronage and fashionable support. Everything was favourable. The "contiguity to so populous a city as London" was pointed out; likewise the "peculiar advantage to the inhabitants" of having "recourse to these springs, so eminently calculated to relieve complaints arising from too copious or too stimulant ingesta, or, in other words, diseases connected with the stomach and biliary functions; the *usual companions of wealth and indulgence*." A map of "Hampstead with some of the adjacent villages and surrounding Rides" was given; also a view of Pond Street, entitled "View at Hampstead, near the new Medicinal Springs, 1803," which served for a frontispiece. A few copies of the book were printed on a special paper made from straw.

Hints of material attractions are not wanting in the doctor's manifesto. "Connoisseurs," he says, "have sometimes found among the gravel, cornelian, agate, and various other valuable stones, similar to those brought from the East, and other foreign countries. . . . Hare are often found among the furze, and the hounds being sometimes out during the season, constitutes a healthy, though in a moral point of view not very benevolent pastime."

The greater part of Dr. Goodwin's book, however, was devoted to a detailed account of the "Neutral Saline Springs," the position of which, Mr. Potter says, cannot now be exactly determined, though he thinks it must have been somewhere near where the Hampstead Heath railway station now stands.¹ The book gives many analyses, experiments, testimonials; among other commendations, it is avouched that "these waters are excellent for weakly women who are desirous of being mothers." In conclusion, the doctor mentions, with no little pride, that he has been appointed "surgeon and apothecary to the Hampstead Parochial Benefit Society," of which "the late philanthropic William Bleamire, Esq., was principal founder," adding that the club was "at present conducted principally under the superintendence of the patriotic and much respected Josiah Boydell, Esq. (one of the magistrates of the village), and several other gentlemen." A note gives the information that "Shower or slipper baths" were to be "hired of Mr. Watson, Ironmonger, in the High Street"; and, finally, so impressed is

¹ *Hampstead Wells*, by George W. Potter, 1904.

the doctor with the value of the "Neutral Saline Springs" that he begs to exclaim with the poet :

And who their virtues can disclose ? who pierce
With vision pure, into these secret stores
Of health, and life and joy ?

It was all of little avail. The public rejected the temptation. The medicinal waters of Hampstead, whether of the old chalybeate or the later



STABLE NEAR WELL WALK, 1819.

From an original drawing by T. Hastings in the Bell-Moor Collection.

"neutral saline" quality, did not suffice to draw the invalids. The former water so highly eulogised by the doctors and historians of the past was until recently represented by a little dripping chalybeate spring in Well Walk which yielded at the rate of a gallon in four hours, and that, as the late Dr. Littlejohn testified,¹ could not be drunk "without serious risk of injury to health." It is now almost dried up, and a modern fountain, with ordinary drinking water laid on, occupies the back of the site of the once famous Spa. May it not be that the modernising, rebuilding, and upheaving of Hampstead

¹ See *ante*, p. 241.

in later times troubled the waters with elements that were absent in the days of their popularity? There are still on the Heath several small chalybeate springs; and it was in good faith that the Gainsboroughs made their Hampstead Wells endowment, which has done much more good and in a different way than they foresaw. It may be added that a spring of a ferruginous character was discovered in the grounds of Golder's Hill when these were taken over by the London County Council. An open drain-pipe, into which the water flowed, was placed on end, so as to form a sumpt; but public attention was not drawn to it, probably because the water might be considered, in these highly hygienic days, to be deleterious to human life. It might, some think, be quite as efficacious as many a highly advertised water of foreign importation.

END OF VOL. I

